

C. SVETONI TRANQVILLI
DIVVS VESPASIANVS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

BY

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PREFACE

THE main part of the following pages, the commentary, was written as a thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Letters ; its purpose was to throw some light on the history of Vespasian's reign—a period badly documented, and therefore neglected by modern writers—by means of an historical commentary on Suetonius' *Life* ; for this work, whatever its shortcomings, is our chief literary source for the reign, and the one recommended, *faute de mieux*, to students in the School of Literae Humaniores at Oxford. The commentary is here printed with a few additions and a short introduction dealing with the general method and historical value of the *Life*. The text and *apparatus* are those of Ihm's *editio minor*, reprinted by kind permission of B. G. Teubner, of Leipzig.

My grateful acknowledgement of assistance and criticism is due to Mr. H. M. Last, of St. John's College, who, moreover, first suggested this subject to me ; to Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, of Magdalen College, and Mr. G. H. Stevenson, of University College, the examiners of my thesis ; and, above all, to Professor Stuart Jones, who has given me invaluable help at every stage of the book's progress, endeavouring, in Suetonius' words, *stabilire primo, deinde et ornare*.

A. W. B.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Suetonius

C. Suetonius TRANQUILLUS, the son of an *eques*, Suetonius Laetus, tribune of the XIII Gemina legion,¹ was born, probably at Rome, in or about the year A.D. 69. This date has been established by Macé;² the date 77 was previously suggested by Mommsen,³ on the grounds that Suetonius had thoughts of accepting a military tribunate in 101,⁴ and that this office was assumed in the senatorial *cursus* at the age of twenty-five. But Mommsen himself admitted that there was no evidence for assuming the same age-limit in the equestrian *cursus*, and Macé, after emphasizing this point, shows clearly that Mommsen's date would make Suetonius too young, firstly, to be treated by Pliny as an equal (*contubernalis*⁵), and secondly, to receive the *ius trium liberorum* in 112 or 113⁶ from an emperor peculiarly loath to grant this privilege. Macé's own date rests on the fact that Suetonius describes himself as an *adulescens* in 88;⁷ this means, in his usage, that he was then between eighteen and twenty-eight, and could not have been born later than 70; on the other hand, it is unlikely that Suetonius Laetus would have married before the return of the XIII legion to Rome in 68, in the last days of Nero, and we may thus fix the year 69 as the approximate date of Suetonius' birth.

The story of Suetonius' life is known to us only from a few scattered references in his own writings,⁸ from six letters of

¹ Suet. *Oth.* 10.

² *Essai sur Suétone*, pp. 35-43. I need scarcely refer to the great service this exhaustive work has been to me in writing this Introduction.

³ *Étude sur Pline le Jeune*, Fr. trans., *Bib. de l'Éc. des H. Ét.* fasc. XV, pp. 13-14 = *Gesammelte Schriften* IV, pp. 377-8.

⁴ Plin. *Ep.* 3. 8. It must be noted that the dates given for Pliny's letters are based on Mommsen's system of chronology, which has been recently severely criticized by W. Otto (*Zur Lebensgeschichte des jüngeren Plinius, Sitzungsberichte zu München—Philosoph. Philolog. und Hist. Klasse—1919*).

⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 1. 24.

⁶ Plin. *Ep.* 10. 94.

⁷ Suet. *Ner.* 57.

⁸ *Ner.* 57, *Dom.* 12, *de Gram.* 4.

Pliny and the letter of Trajan in reply to the last,¹ and from a passage in Spartian.² From these we learn the following facts. Suetonius became a teacher by profession: probably what he taught was grammar;³ he had, however, one experience at least (in the year 97) of pleading at the bar.⁴ In 101 he obtained through his friend the younger Pliny an appointment as military tribune, but afterwards he changed his mind and asked that the appointment should be given instead to one of his relations.⁵ From now on he probably devoted his time mainly to writing; in a letter dated 105-6 we find Pliny impatiently awaiting the appearance of his first great work.⁶

The last of Pliny's letters, the one to Trajan in 112 or 113,⁷ shows that Suetonius, though married, was without children. Beyond this we have no contemporary information, and it is from a later writer we learn that Suetonius was for a time (c. 119-22) secretary *ab epistulis* to the emperor Hadrian.⁸ This post was, of course, one of great importance in the imperial civil service, and its dignity had been enhanced by the action of Hadrian in confining it to members of the equestrian order. Suetonius' duties would be varied and interesting; among the matters that occupied the *ab epistulis* were the reports of provincial governors of all grades, dispatches from military commanders, petitions from the provinces, and applications for privileges from *civitates* or individuals, and the replies to be made to all these.⁹ But what no doubt especially attracted Suetonius was the opportunity this office gave him for the investigation of unpublished records: those preserved by the secretaries *ab epistulis* before him would in themselves be of great service in his historical work, and no

¹ *Ep.* 1. 18, 24, 3. 8, 5. 10, 9. 34, 10. 94, 95.

² *Vita Hadr.* 11. 3.

³ This is what the epithets *scholasticus* (Plin. *Ep.* 1. 24), *γραμματικός* (Suidas), *φιλόλογος* (Lydus, *de Magistrat. Reip. Rom.* 1. 34), seem to indicate, and the assumption is confirmed by the general character of his writings. See Macé, pp. 51-9.

⁴ Plin. *Ep.* 1. 18; Macé, pp. 59-64.

⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 3. 8; Macé, pp. 64-6.

⁶ Plin. *Ep.* 5. 10. This was probably the *de Viris Illustribus*; see Macé, pp. 66-8.

⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 10. 94; Macé, p. 76.

⁸ Spart. *Vita Hadr.* 11. 3. The later title *magister epistularum* is used by Spartian.

⁹ See Macé, pp. 94-5.

doubt he could obtain easy access to the archives of the other departments as well.

This secretaryship *ab epistulis* had doubtless been obtained through the good offices of C. Septicius Clarus, the newly appointed *praefectus praetorio* and another member of Pliny's coterie;¹ Suetonius forfeited the post at the same time (the year 122) as Septicius forfeited his, and for the same reason, namely, some indiscretion in behaviour towards the empress Sabina, left very vague by Spartian.²

After this year we are told nothing of Suetonius' life, and the date of his death is quite unknown.

It remains to speak of Suetonius' voluminous writings. Besides the *de Vita Caesarum*, there is extant in consecutive form only one book of the *de Viris Illustribus*. This work³ was a series of biographies of illustrious Latin writers, dealing in successive books with poets, with orators, with historians, with philosophers, and with teachers of grammar and of rhetoric: of these the last book, *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, has been preserved (in a mutilated condition) in manuscript form; the other books are only known by quotations and excerpts in later writers, though a few of the individual Lives, notably the Life of Terence from the *de Poetis*, are almost or entirely complete.

Of Suetonius' other works no consecutive or even considerable fragments remain; in some cases it is the title only that has been preserved. From the notice s. v. Τράγκυλλος in Suidas and from other sources the following list of his works may be compiled.⁴

I. GRAMMAR AND LITERARY HISTORY

1. On Illustrious Men (see above).
2. On the Signs used in Books (i. e. the critical signs of the grammarians and commentators).

¹ It was to Septicius that Suetonius dedicated the Lives of the Caesars (Lydus, *de Magistrat.* 2. 6).

² See Macé, pp. 214-17.

³ Probably published in 112-13 or soon after; see Macé, pp. 68-75 and p. 244.

⁴ This is Macé's list (p. 355). There is, of course, much dispute about many of the works that these titles represent; whether they were written in Latin or Greek, whether two or more may not have formed part of the same work, &c., &c. Since even the titles are in many cases uncertain, I have thought it better to give the list in English.

3. On Terms of Abuse and Mockery (an abridgement of this work is extant).
4. On Various Matters (the only certain extract from this work deals with a grammatical question).

II. ARCHAEOLOGY AND INSTITUTIONS

5. On the Games of the Greeks (*παιδιαί*).
 6. On Cicero's *de Republica* (Suetonius defended it against the attacks of Didymus, an Alexandrian grammarian of the first century B. C.).
 7. On Public Offices.
- And four volumes on Roman antiquities :
8. On Roman Customs and Manners.
 9. On Clothes.
 10. On the Roman Year.
 11. History of the Public Games.

III. BIOGRAPHY

12. The Lives of the Caesars.
13. On Kings (European, Asiatic, African).
14. On Famous Harlots.

IV. NATURAL HISTORY

15. A work named *Prata*,¹ in at least ten books, of which three were :
16. On Bodily Defects.
17. On Nature (*de Natura Rerum*).
18. On the Natures of Animals (*de Animantium Naturis*).

Controversial as this list is, and however uncertain the nature of the books mentioned may be, it does at least serve to show the variety of Suetonius' interests and the encyclopaedic character of his work. The way in which he was copied, imitated, and extracted wholesale by later writers right up to the Renaissance shows also how enduring was his fame and how authoritative his writings were felt to be.

II. THE *DE VITA CAESARUM*

Suetonius' great extant work, the *de Vita Caesarum*, containing the biographies of Julius Caesar and of the first eleven

¹ *Pratum* is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *λειμών*, a word used sometimes as a title for books dealing with a variety of subjects.

Roman emperors from Augustus to Domitian, was published, in whole or in part, in or about the year A.D. 121. Suetonius became secretary *ab epistulis* almost certainly in 119, and there is abundant evidence to prove that he made use of his opportunities while filling this office to supplement his work with researches in the imperial archives; for this task we may assume that he would need at least two years. On the other hand, the first Lives at all events were published before 122, for they were dedicated to Septicius Clarus, so Ioannes Lydus tells us,¹ while he was still *praefectus praetorio*. There is no reason to doubt this statement of Lydus, and Macé moreover has collected² several small pieces of evidence that tend to confirm his testimony as to the date.

Of this work the eighth and last book, the last presumably to be published if the publication was in parts, containing the biographies of the three Flavian emperors, is the one that especially concerns us. Macé contends³ that the twelve Lives were published all at the same time, arguing, firstly, that a writer like Suetonius, who published a work only after years of delay,⁴ would have no need to bring out the Lives in separate parts, and secondly, that Tacitus is nowhere referred to, even in the period for which he was the only available historian—this can hardly be explained except by the assumption that Tacitus was not yet dead, and we can scarcely date his death later than the year 122. According to Macé, therefore, the Lives of the Flavians appeared in 121.

We have some evidence, again, as to the date at which these three Lives were written. On the one hand, there is no mention of the three Flavian emperors in the remains of the *de Viris Illustribus*, though earlier emperors, especially Augustus, are frequently alluded to in connexion with their contemporaries, and the lives of Flavian contemporaries, such as Quintilian, are included; this would suggest that up to the time he published the *de Viris*⁵ Suetonius had not touched

¹ *de Magistrat.* 2. 6; Macé, p. 199 sq.

² pp. 204–10.

³ pp. 210–12.

⁴ Pliny says *Sum et ipse in edendo haesitator, tu tamen meam quoque cunctationem tarditatemque vicisti* (*Ep.* 5. 10).

⁵ After 112–13 according to Macé (p. 68), who argues that if Suetonius had published a great work by that date Pliny would surely have mentioned it in his letter to Trajan as a reason for granting his friend a much-coveted privilege.

the Flavian house in his researches.¹ On the other hand, his work on the Flavians was completed and written down before Suetonius became secretary *ab epistulis*, for there is nothing in these three Lives to show that he used the imperial archives in their preparation,² and if they had been still unwritten it is unlikely that he would not have made use of such historical documents as Vespasian's will, in the provisions of which he was greatly interested,³ for a period untouched by any systematic historian but Tacitus.⁴ The conclusion is that the three Flavian Lives were prepared and written between A. D. 112 or 113 and 119. We must note, however, that the second date only holds if we accept Macé's proof that the Lives were published all at once, while Suetonius was still secretary *ab epistulis*. Otherwise it would no doubt be simpler to assume that Suetonius' abrupt dismissal from his post cut short his researches in the archives, and that he neglected the material they would have provided for the later Lives from necessity rather than from choice.

III. THE SOURCES OF THE 'LIFE OF VESPASIAN'

It has been seen in the last section that Suetonius made no use of the imperial archives in preparing this Life. It remains to be briefly described what other sources were at his disposal for Vespasian's biography, and, where possible, what sources he actually used.⁵

¹ Macé, p. 261.

² The result of Macé's elaborate investigations (pp. 110-98) is that the only Lives to profit greatly from Suetonius' opportunities at the archives were those of Caesar and Augustus (in whom he had a particular interest); the Lives of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero show few traces of these labours except as concerning Augustus, and the last six Lives none at all.

³ Suet. *Dom.* 2.

⁴ Macé, pp. 182-4.

⁵ No complete analysis of the sources of Suetonius has, so far as I know, ever been made: the chapter in Macé on this subject (chap. vii, pp. 357-78) consists, as he himself admits, of a few observations only. It is interesting to note, however, that Suetonius does not name a single authority in the Lives of the three Flavians, though in earlier Lives he names a large number, some of them otherwise quite unknown; see Macé, p. 360. Schanz (*Römische Literaturgeschichte*³, iii, § 530, gives a list of works dealing with Suetonius' sources.

1. *Vespasian's early life*, cc. 1-4 (A. D. 9-69).

Of this section the first chapter, containing the Flavian family tree, owed a great deal to Suetonius' personal researches. The phrase used in connexion with the supposed non-Italian origin of Vespasian's great-grandfather is sufficient evidence of this.¹ For the reigns of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero (cc. 2-4) there were several historians at Suetonius' disposal; for Gaius and Claudius, Aufidius Bassus and Servilius Nonianus; for Nero, Cluvius Rufus, Fabius Rusticus, and the elder Pliny—in writing the Lives of these emperors it seems most probable that Suetonius followed principally Servilius Nonianus and Fabius Rusticus,² and we may assume that he would do the same for the chapters of his Life of Vespasian that fell within this period.

2. *The 'Vierkaiserjahr' and the first years of Vespasian's reign*, cc. 5-7 (A. D. 69-71).

For this period we can describe Suetonius' sources with more certainty. For Fabia, in his study of the sources of Tacitus, has shown³ that although Suetonius clearly did not draw on the Histories of Tacitus in his account of these years, here or in the three preceding Lives, there is so much that is parallel in the two authors that we must conclude they used the same principal source. This source Fabia identifies,⁴ at first by a process of elimination, afterwards by more positive arguments, with the history of the elder Pliny (no longer preserved), a *fine Aufidii Bassi*, dealing with events between the dates A. D. 50 and 71 approximately. With regard to the value

¹ *Ipse ne vestigium quidem de hoc, quamvis satis curiose inquirerem, inveni.*

² Macé, p. 368. He is much more certain about Fabius than about Servilius. The words *nemo dubitavit* in Suetonius (*Ner.* 28), used of a story that according to Tacitus (*Ann.* 14. 2) only Fabius gives, seem to show that Suetonius followed Fabius almost blindly.

³ *Les Sources de Tacite dans les Histoires et les Annales*, chap. ii, *Tacite et Suétone*, pp. 130-68: for the Flavian period pp. 151-66 especially.

⁴ Chap. iii, *La source principale de Tacite*, pp. 169-209. Mommsen, following H. Peter, had argued that Cluvius Rufus was the principal source (*Ges. Schr.* VII, pp. 224-52).

of this work, Fabia concludes¹ that although Pliny would be a careful and conscientious investigator and had some experience as an historian, his work was not likely to be a model either of historical acumen or of impartiality.

This, then, was Suetonius' principal literary source for the period. He would supplement it, of course, with personal researches and investigations—among these may be particularly mentioned the private reminiscences of his father Suetonius Laetus, tribune of the XIII legion, whom he quotes by name in connexion with the first battle of Bedriacum.²

3. *The later years of Vespasian's reign*, cc. 8–25 (A. D. 71–9).

For this period it is clear that Suetonius can have had no history before him which he used as principal source. The only writer who had dealt in full with the period was Tacitus, in his *Histories*, published c. A. D. 106–8, and though Suetonius must, of course, have read and studied the *Histories*, he did *not* use them as a permanent guide in the way that he had used the history of Pliny. We see this most clearly from the fact that Tacitus in the lost part of the *Histories* gave an account at some length of the discovery and ruthless execution, nine years after their offence, of the Lingonian leader in the German revolt, Iulius Sabinus, together with his wife Epponina.³ Suetonius not only does not mention this story, but declares that Vespasian was *offensarum inimicitiarumque minime memor executorve*, a compliment which implies that he had no recollection when he wrote it of this damning act of remorselessness.⁴

The *Histories*, then, the only complete historical work available, were not the principal source of this part of the Life, and Suetonius therefore had no one principal source. Doubtless he used the *Histories* intermittently, and other works he may have used are the memoirs of Vespasian himself⁵ and the laudatory biography of Helvidius Priscus by

¹ See for his account of Pliny's history pp. 184–99.

² *Oth.* 10.

³ *Hist.* 4. 67. Dio (66. 16) gives the same story, which he doubtless got from Tacitus.

⁴ See Macé, p. 375 sq.

⁵ Quoted by Josephus (*Vita* 65).

Herennius Senecio.¹ He knew nothing of the historical works of Josephus.²

But for this part of the *Life* Suetonius had largely to rely on his own labours: in writing it he had to make for the first time prolonged and continuous investigations of his own from official documents,³ oral tradition, the reminiscences of his friends, and such *libelli* as were available. So that these last two-thirds of the *Life* of Vespasian, with the *Lives* of Titus and Domitian, may fairly be described as *la partie la plus originale sinon la plus intéressante de son œuvre*.⁴

IV. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 'LIFE OF VESPASIAN'

Suetonius' *de Vita Caesarum* is a work of great significance in the history of Latin literature. For it inaugurated a new method of historical writing which was to supersede almost entirely the 'annalistic' method of the past: after him in Latin literature there is only one 'annalistic' historian, Ammianus Marcellinus; all the rest follow the Suetonian method. That this change was for the good of Latin literature or history can scarcely be maintained, but at any rate Suetonius deserves the credit of introducing and standardizing an immensely popular historical form.

The origin of that method and the cause of its invasion into the realm of history are easy to trace. With the establishment and ever-increasing power of the principate, Roman historical writing had come more and more, necessarily, to deal with the actions and personality of one man, the emperor, and to treat the events of his reign primarily in their relationship to him. Most of the historians of the first century of the principate, Aufidius Bassus, Pliny, and the rest, are lost, but we can see to what a degree the emperor has monopolized

¹ Tac. *Agric.* 2, Plin. *Ep.* 7. 19, Dio 67. 13. It seems, however, that Suetonius thought this work was written by Iunius Rusticus (*Dom.* 10): he cannot then have had much knowledge of it.

² See note on c. 5, where Suetonius names Josephus as an historical character only. Tacitus also had no knowledge of Josephus as an historian (Fabia, p. 255 sq.).

³ Such as the *Acta Diurna*, which were available outside the archives; see Macé, p. 191 sq.

⁴ Macé, p. 369.

history when we come to the Annals of Tacitus, which deal with very little else. Suetonius, then, when he decided to write on the history of the first century of the principate, conceived the idea of casting his work deliberately in the biographical form. This biographical form¹ he imported ready-made from Alexandria. Biographies of monarchs and other historical personages, which, of course, had often been written in the past, had generally been in the nature of *encomia*, with little pretence to historical accuracy or value; but a much more candid and realistic method of biography had long been in use in the literary world, in the form of the lives of poets and other writers, dealing fully with personal characteristics and foibles, that the grammarians of Alexandria inserted at the beginning of their editions and commentaries for the instruction and amusement of the reader. This method Suetonius, himself a *grammaticus* by profession, had similarly employed in his work *de Viris Illustribus*, and it was this method that he now turned to historical uses, with complete success, so far as success can be judged by the popularity of his work and the number of imitators it induced.

Unfortunately, it was never in reality a good historical or even a good biographical method.

*Suetonius olim
nomina, res gestas vitamque obitumque peregit.*²

This is a good summary of the 'grammatical' formula. The biographer dealt with the emperor's family and ancestry, the events of his life, his character, public and private, and his death; the events of the reign which had no special bearing in this scheme were omitted. The lives of the writers for whose biographies the form had been introduced had no historical importance, but the lives of the Roman emperors were intimately connected with the history of their times, and it is Suetonius' weakness, though a weakness shared by his successors, that he could not see the difference in principle involved. The 'grammatical' tradition required an impartial and impersonal, though candid, treatment of the subject, and this Suetonius provided; he aimed, moreover, at historical

¹ *Die grammatische Form*, as F. Leo calls it. I have largely used his book (*Die griechisch-römische Biographie*) for the introductory paragraphs of this section.

² Ausonius, *de XII Caes.*, p. 183, Peiper.

accuracy, and in many cases clearly took great pains to verify and expand his sources; but in all the Lives there are great historical gaps, and they are very far from being satisfactory Lives of the Emperors.

In this particular Life, however, it is clear that some parts are on a higher plane historically than others. It has been shown in the preceding section that Suetonius for the first part of the Life closely followed historical works previously published, but for the second part collected his own material and co-ordinated it for himself. We may expect, then, to detect a difference in method where the one part ends and the other begins. And this difference is certainly considerable. The first seven chapters of the Life form a connected story, relating the events of Vespasian's life in chronological order, with some emphasizing of unimportant points, it is true,¹ but on the whole continuous and lucid. Suetonius' source was not always accurate: the short account of the Jewish War of 66-8 has four discrepancies on points of detail with the narrative of the eye-witness Josephus.² Moreover, there is one astonishing omission. Suetonius not only says nothing of the great revolt on the Rhine in A.D. 70, which must have had its place in Pliny's history,³ but seems quite ignorant of the fact that it was largely responsible for the changes he relates as made by Vespasian in the army.⁴ But in the main this part of the Life is a good piece of historical writing, and an example of Suetonius' power of reproducing a literary source in a small compass without losing the interest of the story.

The second part of the Life, where Suetonius loses the guidance of Pliny, is in a different manner altogether.⁵ No

¹ The only blatant instance is chapter 5, which consists entirely of a list of omens that marked Vespasian out as emperor to be. No doubt these came out of Pliny *en bloc*.

² See notes on c. 4.

³ Unless indeed it was dealt with in Pliny's *Bella Germaniae* and not in his *fine Aufidii Bassi*; but this Fabia, for chronological reasons, thinks unlikely (*op. cit.*, p. 219).

⁴ See note on c. 8. Probably this is again because Suetonius had very little interest in events from which his emperors themselves were absent (see note on c. 7).

⁵ It is true that the last eight years of Vespasian's life would be much more difficult to treat as a connected story than the first sixty-two, but the point is that Suetonius did not attempt to do so when his guide deserted him.

chronological system is preserved; the events of the reign, such as are mentioned, are arranged with reference to subject-matter rather than date, and the rest of the eighteen chapters consists of a series of anecdotes and scraps of information in the 'grammatical' manner, intended principally to illustrate traits in Vespasian's character, his *civilitas*, his generosity, his parsimony, his love of broad humour. As a history of Vespasian's reign the Life is entirely inadequate. We find references, more or less casual and incomplete, to Vespasian's reorganization of the army and of the eastern frontier, his work in restoring the national finances, his tenure of the censorship, and his relations with the Senate and its intransigent members; but there is no mention at all of many events which we regard as all-important, such as the annexation of the *Agri Decumates*, the granting of *ius Latii* to Spain, and the new constitutional position given to the Emperor's heir. Instead we are given a selection of anecdotes and *bons mots* to exemplify Vespasian's meanness and good humour.

Suetonius, of course, as we have seen, was not really an historian, nor a systematic biographer, but a disciple of the grammarians; it is only when he is closely following some professed historian that he comes to write history, almost against his will; left to himself, it is the emperor and not the reign that interests him. And in his own line he has many admirable qualities. The picture of Vespasian that we can read between the lines is most vivid: we are left with the impression of a very human old man, clearly not bred to the purple, and with some of the vices of his origin—coarse, that is to say, and in money matters ready to exact the last penny due, but dignified, efficient, and generous. The charges levelled against him of meanness and extortion are carefully examined, and Suetonius is able to come to a considered and just conclusion about them. Finally, we must credit Suetonius with some appreciation at least of Vespasian's purpose and policy: a sentence inserted apparently at haphazard into the Life is an exact description of the significance of the reign in Roman history—(Vespasian) *per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius quam prope afflictam nutantemque rem publicam stabilire primo, deinde et ornare.*

NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPTS

All our extant MSS. of the *de Vita Caesarum* derive from one archetype, and this seems to have been a MS. that existed at Fulda in Germany in the middle of the 9th century; of this a copy was sent, about that time, to Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrara, and our oldest and best MS., the codex Memmianus, now at Paris, dating also from the 9th century, will be closely akin to this copy. From this time onward the MS. was extensively copied, and the versions made suffer more and more from error and interpolation. Apart from the codex Memmianus, Ihm makes most use of the codex Gudianus (11th century) and the codex Vaticanus (11th-12th century); this last, though later, is better than the codex Gudianus, but stops at chapter 3 of the Life of Caligula. Other MSS. used by Ihm are divided by him into two classes, one keeping closely to the readings of the archetype, the other containing many interpolations and variations. An early (9th century) collection of extracts from the Lives is also used by Ihm.

The researches of Ihm and Preud'homme, showing that our extant MSS. are of a common origin, have now placed the text of the *de Vita Caesarum* on a firm basis. Some scholars still hold that certain MSS. of the 15th century, giving plausible variant readings, have independent authority, but until this has been demonstrated more clearly, it seems better to accept the explanation of Ihm and Preud'homme that these readings are due to the conjectures of scribes and may be ignored in the reconstruction of the original text.

SIGLA

Ω lectio archetypi (Fuldensis ut videtur libri quo Einhardus usus est) sive consensus codicum.

M cod. Paris. 6115 (Memmianus) saec. IX; *M*² corrector eius satis antiquus (saec. XI–XII).

G cod. Gudianus 268 saec. XI.

X { *L* cod. Laurentianus plut. 68, 7 saec. XI–XII (Mediceus tertius); *L*² corrector antiquior, *L*³ recens.

P cod. Paris. 5801 saec. XII.

O cod. Laurent. plut. 66, 39 saec. XII (Mediceus primus).

S cod. Montepessulanus 117 saec. XII.

T cod. Berolin. lat. fol. 337 (olim Hulsianus sive Haganus) saec. XIV.

Π cod. Paris. 6116 saec. XII; *Π*² corrector antiquus.

Q cod. Paris. 5802 saec. XII.

Y { *R* cod. Regius musei Britannici 15 C. III saec. XII (e simili exemplari descriptus *ρ* = cod. Regius 15 C. IV saec. XIII).

5 alii codices recentiores, unus vel alter aut plures, in his δ = cod. Paris. 5804 saec. XV.

H Heirici Autessiodurensis excerpta saec. IX, ad fidem cod. Paris. 8818 saec. XI.

N excerpta cod. Paris. 17903 (olim Notre-Dame 188) saec. XIII.

Y' consentiens lectio librorum *Y* et *ST*, quibus plerumque accedit *O*.

unci quadrati [] delenda comprehendunt, angulati < > supplenda.

B.-Crus. = Baumgarten-Crusius, *Bentl(ey)*, *Beroald(us)*, *Büch(eler)*, *Burm(annus)*, *Casaub(onus)*, *Cluver(ius)*, *Egn(atius)*, *Ern(esti)*, *Graev(ius)*, *Gron(ovii)*, *Lips(ius)*, *Modd(erman)*, *Oud(endorpius)*, *Politi(anus)*, *Sabell(icus)*, *Salm(asius)*, *Scriver(ius)*, *Steph(anus)*, *Torr(entius)*, *Turn(ebus)*.

C. SVETONI TRANQVILLI DE VITA CAESARVM

DIVVS VESPASIANVS

REBELLIONE trium principum et caede incertum diu et 1
quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem gens
Flavia, obscura illa quidem ac sine ullis maiorum imagini-
bus, sed tamen rei publicae nequaquam paenitenda, constet
5 licet Domitianum cupiditatis ac saevitiae merito poenas
luisse.

T. Flavius Petro, municeps Reatinus, bello civili Pom- 2
peianarum partium centurio an evocatus, profugit ex Phar-
salica acie domumque se contulit, ubi deinde venia et
10 missione impetrata coactiones argentarias factitavit. huius
filius, cognomine Sabinus, expers militiae—etsi quidam
eum primipilarem, nonnulli, cum adhuc ordines duceret,
sacramento solutum per causam valetudinis tradunt—publi-
cum quadragesimae in Asia egit; manebantque imagines
15 a civitatibus ei positae sub hoc titulo: ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗ-
CANTI. postea faenus apud Helvetios exercuit ibique diem 3
obiit superstitibus uxore Vespasia Polla et duobus ex ea liberis,
quorum maior Sabinus ad praefecturam urbis, minor Vespas-
ianus ad principatum usque processit. Polla Nursiae
20 honesto genere orta patrem habuit Vespasium Pollionem,

7 petronius TT 8 incertum sponte post centurio add. X 11
etsi] et T 13 publicanum Sabell. 14 monebantque Lips.,
manent hodieque Casaub. 16 helvitios (-ticos G) Ω

ter tribunum militum praefectumque castrorum, fratrem senatorem praetoriae dignitatis. locus etiam ad sextum miliarium a Nursia Spoletium euntibus in monte summo appellatur Vespasiae, ubi Vespasiorum complura monimenta exstant, magnum indicium splendoris familiae et 5
4 vetustatis. non negaverim iactatum a quibusdam Petronis patrem e regione Transpadana fuisse mancipem operarum, quae ex Vmbria in Sabinos ad culturam agrorum quotannis commeare soleant; subsedissem autem in oppido Reatino uxore ibidem ducta. ipse ne vestigium quidem de hoc, 15
quamvis satis curiose inquirerem, inveni.

2 Vespasianus natus est in Sabinis ultra Reate vico modico, cui nomen est Falacrinae, XV. Kal. Decb. vesperi, Q. Sulpicio Camerino C. Poppaeo Sabino cons., quinquennio ante quam Augustus excederet; educatus sub paterna avia Ter- 15
tulla in praediis Cosanis. quare princeps quoque et locum incunabulorum adsidue frequentavit, manente villa qualis fuerat olim, ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret; et aviae memoriam tanto opere dilexit, ut sollemnibus ac festis diebus pocillo quoque eius argenteo potare 20
perseveraverit.

2 Sumpta virili toga latum clavum, quamquam fratre adepto, diu aversatus est, nec ut tandem appeteret compelli nisi a matre potuit. ea demum extudit magis convicio quam pre-
cibus vel auctoritate, dum eum identidem per contumeliam 25
anteambulonem fratris appellat.

3 Tribunatum militum in Thracia meruit; quaestor Cretam et Cyrenas provinciam sorte cepit; aedilitatis ac mox praeturae candidatus, illam non sine repulsa sextoque vix adeptus

2 etiam nunc *Υ* 4 vespasiae *M*, vespasianae *Υ* 6 petroniis
MY 12 sabinis *5* (*Sabell.*), samnis *Ω* 13 phalacrinae (-ne
deter.) *Ω*, Falacrino *Cluver.* vesperiq(ue) *Ω*, corr. *5* 17 incuna-
bulo. *R.* *MR*, cunabulorum *ΠQ* et pro *v. l. R* 18 fuerit *LPSR*
26 appellabat *Q* 27 Tribunus *Torr.* (*5*?) 29 illam *Torr.*,
etiam *Ω*, eam *Pighius*, sed eam *vel* et eam *vel* et illam *alii*

est loco, (h)a(n)c prima statim petitione et in primis. praetor
infensum senatui Gaium ne quo non genere demereretur,
ludos extraordinarios pro victoria eius Germanica depo-
poscit poenaeque coniuratorum addendum censuit, ut in-
5 sepulti proicerentur. egit et gratias ei apud amplissimum
ordinem, quod se honore cenae dignatus esset.

Inter haec Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Statili 3
Capellae equitis Romani Sabratensis ex Africa delicatam
olim Latinaeque condicionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem
10 Romanam reciperatorio iudicio pronuntiatam, patre asse-
rente Flavio Liberale Ferenti genito nec quicquam amplius
quam quaestorio scriba. ex hac liberos tulit Titum et
Domitianum et Domitillam. uxori ac filiae superstes fuit
atque utramque adhuc privatus amisit. post uxoris exces-
15 sum Caenidem, Antoniae libertam et a manu, dilectam
quondam sibi revocavit in contubernium habuitque etiam
imperator paene iustae uxoris loco.

Claudio principe Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Ger- 4
maniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus tricies
20 cum hoste confligit. duas validissimas gentes superque
viginti oppida et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam in
dicionem redegit partim Auli Plauti legati consularis partim
Claudi[i] ipsius ductu. quare triumphalia ornamenta et in 2
brevis spatio duplex sacerdotium accepit, praeterea consula-
25 tum, quem gessit per duos novissimos anni menses. medium
tempus ad proconsulatum usque in otio secessuque egit,
Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium et defuncti
quoque Narcissi amici perosam.

Exim sortitus Africam integerrime nec sine magna digna- 3

1 es *M* loco post sextoque habent *Υ* hanc *Bentl.*, *Duker*, ac *Q*,
at hanc *Oud.* 2 infensum *Lips.*, infensus *MXII²R*, -sos *GII¹Q*
8 delicatam *M¹*, delig- *M²LT*, deleg- *rel.* 19 in *om. M* tricies
et bis *Eutr. VII 19, 1* 21 Vectam *Eutr.* (*Βέκτην Paeon.*) 22
plauti palati *M*, palatini (-ani *Q*) *Υ* 28 amicos perosam *Ϛ*, amici-
tiam periculosam *Modd.* 29 Exin *codd. praeter M* (*cf. Galba 6, 1*)

tione administravit, nisi quod Hadrumeti seditione quadam rapa in eum iacta sunt. rediit certe nihilo opulentior, ut qui prope labefactata iam fide omnia praedia fratri obligaret necessarioque ad mangonicos quaestus sustinendae dignitatis causa descenderit; propter quod vulgo *mulio* vocabatur. 5 convictus quoque dicitur ducenta sestertia expressisse iuveni, cui latum clavum adversus patris voluntatem impetrarat, eoque nomine graviter increpitus.

4 Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis cum cantante eo aut discederet saepius aut praesens obdormisceret, 10 gravissimam contraxit offensam, prohibitusque non contubernio modo sed etiam publica salutatione secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti etiamque extrema metu-enti provincia cum exercitu oblata est.

5 Percrebruerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse 15 in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu paruit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt caesoque praeposito legatum insuper Syriae consularem suppetias ferentem rapta aquila fugaverunt. ad hunc motum com- 20 primendum cum exercitu ampliore et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est ut et industriae expertae nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis.

6 additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohorti- 25 bus decem, atque inter legatos maiore filio assumpto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se, correcta statim castrorum disciplina, unoque et altero proelio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu scutoque sagittas aliquot exceperit. 30

3 labefacta X obligarit *Egn.* 7 cui 5 (*Sabell.*), qui Ω
13 etiamque] et iam *Bentl.* 17 apparuit 5 18 debellarunt T,
rebellarant *Bentl.* 23 industriae expertae ΠQ, industria experti
MR, industria expertus *rel.* 27 provinciam <suam> *G. Becker*
29 ictu *M* 30 scuto sagittasque *M*, scutoque sagittasque *G*, scuto
sagittas T, scuto sagittas <quo>que *Büch.*

Post Neronem Galbamque Othone ac Vitellio de principi- 5
patu certantibus in spem imperii venit iam pridem sibi per
haec ostenta conceptam.

In suburbano Flaviorum quercus antiqua, quae erat Marti 2
5 sacra, per tres Vespasiae partus singulos repente ramos a
frutice dedit, haud dubia signa futuri cuiusque fati: primum
exilem et cito arefactum, ideoque puella nata non peran-
navit, secundum praevalidum ac prolixum et qui magnam
felicitem portenderet, tertium vero instar arboris. quare
10 patrem Sabinum ferunt, haruspicio insuper confirmatum, re-
nuntiassse matri, nepotem ei Caesarem genitum; nec illam
quicquam aliud quam cachinnasse, mirantem *quod adhuc se
mentis compote deliraret iam filius suus.*

Mox, cum aedilem eum C. Caesar, succensens curam 3
15 verrendis viis non adhibitam, luto iussisset oppleri congesto
per milites in praetextae sinum, non defuerunt qui inter-
pretarentur, quandoque proculcatam desertamque rem pu-
blicam civili aliqua perturbatione in tutelam eius ac velut
in gremium deventuram.

20 Prandente eo quondam canis extrarius e trivio manum 4
humanam intulit mensaeque subiecit. cenante rursus bos
arator decusso iugo triclinium irrupit ac fugatis ministris
quasi repente defessus procidit ad ipsos accumbentis pedes
cervicemque summisit. arbör quoque cupressus in agro
25 avito sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus atque prostrata
insequenti die viridior ac firmior surrexit.

At in Achaia somniavit initium sibi suisque felicitatis 5
futurum, simul ac dens Neroni exemptus esset; evenitque
ut sequenti die progressus in atrium medicus dentem ei
30 ostenderet tantumque quod exemptum.

4 quae Π²QR, post sacra habet S, post erat ponit Bentl., om. rel. (Ω),
inde ea post sacra suppl. Becker (quae erat om. 5, del. Ern.) 5 re-
pente om. X an frutices Lips., a radice Bentl. 6 edidit
Bentl. 14 succensus MLP, offensus Bentl. 23 ipsius 5
30 tantumque quod] recenter quod R, recenter Π¹ST, recenter quidem
Π², tantum quod 5

- 6 Apud Iudaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur; et unus ex nobilibus captivis Iosephus, cum coiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem 5
- 7 brevi solveretur, verum iam imperatore. nuntiabantur et ex urbe praesagia: Neronem diebus ultimis monitum per quietem, ut tensam Iovis Optimi Maximi e sacrario in domum Vespasiani et inde in circum deduceret; ac non multo post comitia secundi consulatus ineunte Galba sta- 10 tua(m) Divi Iuli ad Orientem sponte conversa(m), acieque Betriacensi, prius quam committeretur, duas aquilas in conspectu omnium conflxisse victaque altera supervenisse
- 6 tertiam ab solis exortu ac victricem abegisse. nec tamen quicquam ante temptavit, promptissimis atque etiam in- 15 stantibus suis, quam sollicitatus quorundam et ignotorum et absentium fortuito favore.
- 2 Moesiaci exercitus bina e tribus legionibus milia missa auxilio Othoni, postquam ingressis iter nuntiatum est victum eum ac vim vitae suae attulisse, nihilo setius Aquileiam 20 usque perseveraverunt, quasi rumorì minus crederent. ibi per occasionem ac licentiam omni rapinarum genere grassati, cum timerent ne sibi reversis reddenda ratio ac subeunda poena esset, consilium inierunt eligendi creandique im-
- 3 Germaniciano qui Vitellium fecissent. propositis itaque nominibus legatorum consularium, quot ubique tunc erant, cum ceteros alium alia de causa improbarent et quidam e legione tertia, quae sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in 30 Moesiam fuerat, Vespasianum laudibus ferrent, assensere

3 esset *G iterans* id post proventurum 4 iosephus *M* 6 im-
 peratori *MGδ* 10 statuum — conversam *5* 12 betriacensi
 (bretic- *Υ*) Ω (cf. *Otho* 9. 2) 13 supervenisse *M* 25 esse
 (se) *Büch.* 29 implorarent *Υ* quidem *M* 31 efferrent *Gδ*

cuncti nomenque eius vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt. et tunc quidem compressa res est revocatis ad officium numeris parumper. ceterum divulgato facto Tiberius Alexander praefectus Aegypti primus in verba
 5 Vespasiani legiones adegit Kal. Iul., qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est; Iudaicus deinde exercitus V. Idus Iul. apud ipsum iuravit.

Plurimum coeptis contulerunt iactatum exemplar epistulae
 verae sive falsae defuncti Othonis ad Vespasianum extrema
 10 obtestatione ultionem mandantis et ut rei publicae subveniret optantis, simul rumor dissipatus destinasse victorem Vitellium permutare hiberna legionum et Germanicas transferre in Orientem ad securiorem mollioremque militiam, praeterea ex praesidibus provinciarum Licinius Mucianus
 15 et e regibus Vologaesius Parthus; ille deposita simultate, quam in id tempus ex aemulatione non obscure gerebat, Syriacum promisit exercitum, hic quadraginta milia sagittariorum.

Suscepto igitur civili bello ac ducibus copiisque in Italiam
 20 praemissis interim Alexandriam transiit, ut claustra Aegypti obtineret. hic cum de firmitate imperii capturus auspiciu aedem Serapidis summotis omnibus solus intrasset ac propitiato multum deo tandem se convertisset, verbenas coronasque et panificia, ut illic assolet, Basilides libertus obtulisse
 25 ei visus est; quem neque admissum a quoquam et iam pridem propter nervorum valetudinem vix ingredi longaeque abesse constabat. ac statim advenere litterae fusae apud Cremonam Vitelli copias, ipsum in urbe interemptum nuntiantes.

30 Auctoritas et quasi maiestas quaedam ut scilicet inopinato 2

3 muneris X et pro v. l. Π² 5 allegit (adl- Q) γ 7 idus]
 nonas Tac. hist. II 79 9 <sive> verae C. F. W. Müller 11 hor-
 tantis 5 24 libertus del. Torr., uberius Benth., liberius Oud. (cf.
 Tac. hist. IV 82) 27 se abesse Mδ, abesse se Π²R ac] et M
 30 ut solet 5

- et adhuc novo principi deerat ; haec quoque accessit. e
 plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure
 sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt orantes opem vale-
 tudini demonstratam a Serapide per quietem : restitutum
 oculos, si inspisset ; confirmaturum crus, si dignaretur calce 5
 3 contingere. cum vix fides esset ullo modo rem successuram
 ideoque ne experiri quidem auderet, extremo hortantibus
 amicis palam pro contione utrumque temptavit, nec eventus
 defuit. per idem tempus Tegeae in Arc[h]adia instinctu
 vaticinantium effossa sunt sacrato loco vasa operis antiqui 10
 atque in iis assimilis Vespasiano imago.
- 8 Talis tantaque cum fama in urbem reversus acto de Iudaeis
 triumpho consulatus octo veteri addidit ; suscepit et cen-
 suram ac per totum imperii tempus nihil habuit antiquius
 quam prope afflictam nutantemque rem publicam stabilire 15
 primo, deinde et ornare.
- 2 Milites pars victoriae fiducia, pars ignominiae dolore ad
 omnem licentiam audaciamque processerant ; sed et pro-
 vinciae civitatesque liberae, nec non et regna quaedam
 tumultuosius inter se agebant. quare Vitellianorum quidem 20
 et exauctoravit plurimos et coercuit, participibus autem
 victoriae adeo nihil extra ordinem indulsit, ut etiam legitima
 3 praemia sero persolverit. ac ne quam occasionem corri-
 gendi disciplinam praetermitteret, adulescentulum fragran-
 tem unguento, cum sibi pro impetrata praefectura gratias 25
 ageret, nutu aspernatus, voce etiam gravissima increpuit :
maluisses alium oboluisse, litterasque revocavit. classarios
 vero, qui ab Ostia et Puteolis Romam pedibus per vices
 commeant, petentes constitui aliquid sibi calciarii nomine,
 quasi parum esset sine responso abegisse, iussit posthac 30
 excalciatos cursitare ; et ex eo ita cursitant.

2 debilis H 4 a] ac M 5 si (post oculos) om. M¹ 7 orantibus
 H 24 fragrantem TS, flagr- MRPS, fragl- rel. 29 commeabant
 POST 30 post haec XT 31 exculciatos G (cf. Ner. 51, Vit. 2, 3)

Achaïam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum libertate 4
adempta, item Trachiam Ciliciam et Commagenen dicionis
regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit.
Cappadociae propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus legiones
5 addidit consularemque rectorem imposuit pro equite Ro-
mano.

Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat ; vacuas 5
areas occupare et aedificare, si possessores cessarent, cuicum-
que permisit. ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus ruderi-
10 bus purgandis manus primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam
extulit ; aerearumque tabularum tria milia, quae simul
conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit undique investigatis
exemplaribus : instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetu-
stissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus
15 consulta, plebi[s] scita de societate et foedere ac privilegio
cuicumque concessis. fecit et nova opera templum Pacis 9
foro proximum Divique Claudii in Caelio monte coeptum
quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destru-
ctum ; item amphitheatrum urbe media, ut destinasse com-
20 pererat Augustum.

Amplissimos ordines et exhaustos caede varia et con- 2
taminatos veteri neglegentia purgavit supplevitque recen-
senatu et equite, summotis indignissimis et honestissimo quo-
que Italicorum ac provincialium adlecto. atque uti notum
25 esset, utrumque ordinem non tam libertate inter se quam
dignitate differre, de iurgio. quodam senatoris equitisque
Romani ita pronuntiavit, *non oportere maledici senatoribus,
remaledici civile fasque esse.*

Litium series ubique maiorem in modum excreverant, 10
30 manentibus antiquis intercapedine iuris dictionis, accedenti-

2 Trachiam *Bentl.* (sic casu Π, Tracheam *Turn.*), thraciam Ω (cf. *Eutr. VII 19, 4 Ps. Vict. epit. 9, 13 Oros. VII 9, 10*) 3 redigit *M*
15 consultam *M*, consulta ac (vel et) *Bentl.* 20 Augustum, am-
plissimum. Ordines *Lips.* 25 inter se Υ, in se *MGX, om. N*

bus novis ex condicione tumultuque temporum ; sorte elegit per quos rapta bello restituerentur quique iudicia centumviralia, quibus peragendis vix suffectura litigatorum videbatur aetas, extra ordinem diiudicaret redigerentque ad brevissimum numerum. 5

- 11 Libido atque luxuria coercente nullo invaluerat ; auctor senatui fuit decernendi, ut quae se alieno servo iunxisset, ancilla haberetur ; neve filiorum familiarum faeneratoribus exigendi crediti ius umquam esset, hoc est ne post patrum quidem mortem. 10

- Ceteris in rebus statim ab initio principatus usque ad 12 exitum civilis et clemens, mediocritatem pristinam neque dissimulavit umquam ac frequenter etiam prae se tulit. quin et conantis quosdam originem Flavii generis ad conditores Reatinos comitemque Herculis, cuius monimentum 15 exstat Salaria via, referre irrisit ultro. adeoque nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et taedio pompae non reticuerit, *merito se plecti, qui triumphum, quasi aut debitum maioribus suis aut speratum umquam sibi, tam inepte senex concupisset.* ac ne 20 tribuniciam quidem potestatem (. . .) patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit. nam consuetudinem scrutandi salutantes manente adhuc bello civili omiserat.

- 13 Amicorum libertatem, causidicorum figuras ac philosophorum contumaciam lenissime tulit. Licinium Mucianum 25 notae impudicitiae, sed meritorum fiducia minus sui reverentem, numquam nisi clam et hactenus retaxare sustinuit, ut apud communem aliquem amicum querens adderet clausulam: *ego tamen vir sum.* Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis rei ausum dicere: *quid ad Caesarem,* 30

2 centumvirilia *MGY* 7 decernendae (-de δ) *Mδ* 8 familiarium *codd. praeter GΠQT* 9 hoc est—mortem *del. Burm.*
 16 via salaria *Υ'* 21 tribunicia—potestate *ΠQ* nec ante patris
add. G, et Σ, aut Roth, statim O. Hirschfeld, statim nec Büch.
 24 ac *om. N* 29 clausulam *Duker, clausulae Ω*

si Hipparchus sestertium milies habet? et ipse laudavit. Demetrium Cynicum in itinere obvium sibi post damnationem ac neque assurgere neque salutare se dignantem, oblatrantem etiam nescio quid, satis habuit *canem* appellare.

- 5 Offensarum inimicitiarumque minime memor executorve 14
 Vitelli[i] hostis sui filiam splendidissime maritavit, dotavit etiam et instruxit. trepidum eum interdicta aula sub Nerone quaerentemque, quidnam ageret aut quo abiret, quidam ex officio admissionis simul expellens *abire Morboviam* iusserat.
 10 in hunc postea deprecantem non ultra verba excanduit, et quidem totidem fere atque eadem. nam ut suspicione aliqua vel metu ad perniciem cuiusquam compelleretur tantum afuit, ut monentibus amicis cavendum esse Mettium Pom-
 pusianum, quod vulgo crederetur genesim habere impera-
 15 toriam, insuper consulem fecerit, spondens quandoque beneficii memorem futurum.

- Non temere quis punitus insons reperi[r]etur nisi absente 15
 eo et ignaro aut certe invito atque decepto. Helvidio Prisco, qui et reversum se ex Syria solus privato nomine
 20 Vespasianum salutaverat et in praetura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmiserat, non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insolentissimis paene in ordinem re-
 ductus. hunc quoque, quamvis relegatum primo, deinde et interfici iussum, magni aestimavit servare quoquo modo,
 25 missis qui percussores revocarent; et servasset, nisi iam perisse falso renuntiatum esset. ceterum neque caede cuiusquam umquam (.) iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit etiam et ingemuit.

Sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniae cupiditas. non 16

4 canem habuit T 6 maritatam Bentl. dotavitque ed. Ven. I
 (cf. Ps. Vict. epit. 9, 2) 10 non] haud 5 (vulg.) 17 reperi-
 retur Ω, corr. 5 (Scriv. Salm.) 20 Vespasianum del. Polak
 21 suscensuit L 27 laetatus suppl. 5 (vulg.), gavisus O. Rossbach,
 laetatus est et Roth, laetatus est et quamvis Büch. 28 etiam et
 MGLP, etiam Q, neque etiam II, neque etiam et RST

enim contentus omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse, nova et gravia addidisse, auxisse tributa provinciis, nonnullis et duplicasse, negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quaedam tantum ut pluris postea
 2 distraheret. ne candidatis quidem honores reiseve tam 5
 innoxiiis quam nocentibus absolutiones venditare cunctatus est. creditur etiam procuratorum rapacissimum quemque ad ampliora officia ex industria solitus promovere, quo locupletiores mox condemnaret; quibus quidem vulgo pro spongiis dicebatur uti, quod quasi et siccis madefaceret et 10
 exprimeret umentis.

3 Quidam natura cupidissimum tradunt, idque exprobratum ei a sene bubulco, qui negata[m] sibi gratuita[m] libertate[m], quam imperium ade[m]ptum suppliciter orabat, proclamaverit, *vulpem pilum mutare, non mores*. sunt contra 15
 qui opinentur ad manubias et rapinas necessitate compulsum summa aerarii fisciue inopia, de qua testificatus sit initio statim principatus, professus *quadringenties milies opus esse, ut res publica stare posset*. quod et veri similis videtur, quando
 17 et male partis optime usus est. in omne hominum genus 20
 liberalissimus explevit censum senatorium, consulares inopes quingenis sestertiis annuis sustentavit, plurimas per totum orbem civitates terrae motu aut incendio afflictas restituit in
 18 melius, ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit. primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit; 25
 praestantis poetas, nec non et artifices, Coae Veneris, item Colossi refectorem insigni congiario magnaue mercede donavit; mechanico quoque grandis columnas exigua impensa perducturum in Capitolium pollicenti praemium pro

4 quaedam om. γ 5 candidatus MGLPδ 13 negata—
 gratuita libertate Π¹QST, negatam (-ta δ)—gratuitam libertatem rel.
 (Ω), quod retineri mavult Oud. supplens ob 14 ademptum Ω, corr.
 S²T⁵ orarat Bentl. 18 quadragies Budaeus 21 senatorium T⁵ 26 Coae Veneris Graev., coevenerit MGγ, coemerit LPS¹, coemit S²T

commento non mediocre obtulit, operam remisit praefatus
sineret se plebiculam pascere. ludis, per quos scaena Mar- 19
 celliani theatri restituta dedicabatur, vetera quoque acroa-
 mata revocaverat. †Appellari tragoedo quadringenta, Terpno
 5 Diodoroque citharoedis ducena, nonnullis centena, quibus
 minimum, quadragena sestertia super plurimas coronas
 aureas dedit. sed et convivabatur adsidue ac saepius recta
 et dapsile, ut macellarios adiuuaret. dabat sicut Saturna-
 libus viris apophoreta, ita per Kal. Mart. feminis. et tamen
 10 ne sic quidem pristina cupiditatis infamia caruit. Alexan- 2
 drini Cybiosacten eum vocare perseveraverunt, cognomine
 unius e regibus suis turpissimarum sordium. sed et in
 funere Favor archimimus personam eius ferens imitansque,
 ut est mos, facta ac dicta vivi, interrogatis palam procura-
 15 toribus, quanti funus et pompa constaret, ut audit *sestertium*
centiens, exclamavit, *centum sibi sestertia darent ac se vel in*
Tiberim proicerent.

Statura fuit quadrata, compactis firmisque membris, vultu 20
 veluti nitentis; de quo quidam urbanorum non infacete,
 20 siquidem petenti, ut et in se aliquid diceret: *dicam*, inquit,
cum ventrem exonerare desieris. valetudine prosperrima
 usus est, quamvis ad tuendam eam nihil amplius quam
 fauces ceteraque membra sibimet ad numerum in sphaeri-
 sterio defricaret inediamque unius diei per singulos menses
 25 interponeret.

Ordinem vitae hunc fere tenuit. in principatu maturius 21
 semper ac de nocte vigilabat; dein perlectis epistulis officio-
 rumque omnium breviariis, amicos admittebat, ac dum

2 plebeculam N²⁵ (edd.) 4 apelli p⁵, Apollinari ed. Rom. II
 (vulg.), Apellari Polit., Apellae Büch. 7 recte YT, om. S
 10 nec si M, nec sic ST pristina G⁸, pistrina M, pristinae rel.
 11 Cybiosacten Torr. (e Strab. XVII 796), cybiotanten Ω 13 favo
 T iontansque M (ioculans vel iocans Bentl.) 14 viri T
 15 audiit GT sestertio I. F. Gron. 19 urbaniorum MR
 27 evigilabat Graev. (cf. Ps. Vict. epit. 9, 15)

salutabatur, et calciabat ipse se et amiciebat; postque decisa quaecumque obvenissent negotia gestationi et inde quieti vacabat, accubante aliqua pallacarum, quas in locum defunctae Caenidis plurimas constituerat; a secreto in balineum tricliniumque transibat. nec ullo tempore facilius aut indulgentior traditur, eaque momenta domestici ad aliquid petendum magno <ο>pere captabant.

- 22 Et super cenam autem et semper alias comissimus multa ioco transigebat; erat enim dicacitatis plurimae, etsi scurrilis et sordidae, ut ne praetextatis quidem verbis 10 abstineret. et tamen nonnulla eius facetissima exstant, in quibus et haec. Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo *plaustra* potius quam *plostra* dicenda, postero die *Flaurum* salutavit. expugnatus autem a quadam, quasi amore suo deperiret, cum perductae pro concubitu sestertia 15 quadringenta donasset, admonente dispensatore, quem ad modum summam rationibus vellet inferri: *Vespasiano*, 23 inquit, *adamato*. utebatur et versibus Graecis tempestive satis, et de quodam procerae staturae improbiusque nato:

μακρὰ βιβάς, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, 20

et de Cerylo liberto, qui dives admodum ob subterfugientum quandoque ius fisci ingenuum se et Lachetem mutato nomine coeperat ferre:

ὦ Λάχης, Λάχης,
ἐπὶ ἀποθάνῃς, αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσει 25
σὺ Κηρύλος.

maxime tamen dicacitatem adfectabat in deformibus lucris,

1 salutatur *Ps. Vict. (Roth)* 4 cenidis *Q*, cen- *ΠS*², g(a)enidis
rel. 5 balneum *GXT* 8 super alias (aleas *T*⁵) *POT*⁵,
super aleam *Graev.* communissimus *T*⁵ 9 et sic *GX* 10 scur-
rulis *MQR*^δ 15 sui *Sabell.*, se *Modd.* productae *Υ*, per-
ducta *Casaub.*, perducta ei *Burm.* 16 quadraginta (*XL. G*)
GPQ^δ 19 et] et ut *Υ*, ut *5* 21 caerulo *MG*, cerulo *rel.*
25 ἈΠΟΘΑΝΕC Ω ἀρχῆς *Casaub.*, ΔΙΧΔΡΧΗC *M*, ΔΥΧΔΡΗC
G, ΔΥΧΔΡΧΗC *fere rel.* ἔσει σὺ *Büch.* (ἔση *Steph.*, ἔσει *Roth*),
ΕΙΡCΥ Ω 26 ΓΗΡΥΛΟC Ω

ut invidiam aliqua cavillatione dilueret transferretque ad sales.

Quendam e caris ministris dispensationem cuidam quasi a fratri petentem cum distulisset, ipsum candidatum ad se 5 vocavit ; exactaque pecunia, quantam is cum suffragatore suo pepigerat, sine mora ordinavit ; interpellanti mox ministro : *alium tibi, ait, quaere fratrem ; hic, quem tuum putas, meus est.* mulionem in itinere quodam suspicatus ad calciandas mulas desiluisse, ut adeunti litigatori spatium 10 moramque praeberet, interrogavit *quanti calciasset*, (et) pactus est lucri partem. reprehendenti filio Tito, quod etiam 3 urinae vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans *num odore offenderetur* ; et illo negante : *atquin*, inquit, *e lotio est.* nuntiantis legatos 15 decretam ei publice non mediocris summae statuam colosseam, iussit vel continuo ponere[t], cavam manum ostentans et *paratam basim* dicens. ac ne in metu quidem ac periculo 4 mortis extremo abstinuit iocis. nam cum inter cetera prodigia Mausoleum derepente patuisset et stella crinita in 20 caelo apparuisset, alterum ad Iuniam Calvinam e gente Augusti pertinere dicebat, alterum ad Parthorum regem qui capillatus esset ; prima quoque morbi accessione : *vae*, inquit, *puto deus fio.*

Consulatu suo nono temptatus in Campania motiunculis 24 25 levibus protinusque urbe repetita, Cutilias ac Reatina rura, ubi aestivare quotannis solebat, petit. hic cum super urgentem valetudinem creberrimo frigidae aquae usu etiam

1 deflueret X, deflecteret N 3 ministris del. Lips. 8 quon-
dam Bentl. 9 desilisse codd. praeter M 10 et pactus est
I. Gron., pactusque est L³⁵, pactus et Bentl. 12 passione M,
pansione GR^δ 14 atquin M, atqui rel. rectius puto nuntiantes
legatos GLT', nuntianti legato 5, nuntiante legato Oud. 15 ei]
rei T 16 ponere Bentl., poneret MG^δ, ponerent rel., ponere et
Roth 18 extremo om. T 19 repente G 25 cutillas Ω,
corr. 5 (Beroald.) 26 petiit T'P

intestina vitiasset nec eo minus muneribus imperatoriis ex consuetudine fungeretur, ut etiam legationes audiret cubans, alvo repente usque ad defectionem soluta, *imperatorem ait stantem mori oportere*; dumque consurgit ac nititur, inter manus sublevantium extinctus est VIII. Kal. Iul. annum 5 agens aetatis sexagensimum ac nonum superque mensem ac diem septimum.

- 25 Convenit inter omnis, tam certum eum de sua suorumque genitura semper fuisse, ut post adsiduas in se coniurationes ausus sit adfirmare senatui *aut filios sibi successuros aut* 10 *neminem*. dicitur etiam vidisse quondam per quietem stateram media parte vestibuli Palatinae domus positam examine aequo, cum in altera lance Claudius et Nero starent, in altera ipse ac filii. nec res fefellit, quando totidem annis parique temporis spatio utrique imperaverunt. 15

2 ut *del. Benth.* 6 gerens T 10 successores *ML¹S* (*cf. Eutr. VII 20, 3; Victor Caes. 9, 4*) 12 in media T 13 cum in] cum T, cuius *Benth.*

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NOTES

CHAPTER I

THE eighth book of Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* contains his account of the three Flavian emperors, and this first chapter is a general introduction to the whole, giving (1) an estimate of the dynasty, (2) an account of its ancestry. The life of Vespasian proper begins with c. 2 *Vespasianus natus est*; cf. *Titus . . . natus est* (*Tit.* 1), *Domitianus natus est* (*Dom.* 1).

§ 1. *sine ullis maiorum imaginibus*: used of a man none of whose ancestors have held curule office, i.e. have attained the rank of aedile. See Cicero, *Verrines*, 5. 14. 36.

§ 2. *T. Flavius Petro*. His wife's name was Tertulla (c. 2). We know no more of him than Suetonius tells us, but he must have been a very old man at the time of Vespasian's birth, if alive at all.

municipes Reatinus. Reate (*Rieti*) was a town in Sabine territory on the Avers (*Velino*), at the point where the Via Salaria crossed the river. An inscription records that it was a *praefectura* in 27 B.C. (*CIL.* ix. 4677 = Dessau 6543). It did not become a *municipium* until imperial times (*CIL.* ix. 4686), so that Suetonius' reference is anachronistic. Vespasian later settled some of his discharged veterans there (e.g. *CIL.* ix. 4684 = Dessau 2460).

evocatus: i.e. a time-expired veteran re-engaged by a military commander. He would be given charge of small bodies of recruits, and might thus come to be spoken of loosely also as a centurion. Or the qualification may only mean that Suetonius was uncertain of his rank.

missione: i.e. *honesta missio*, without which Petro could not have secured the usual *praemia*.

coactiones argentarias: i.e. his profession was the collecting of debts at a commission.

Sabinus: Vespasian's father; we know nothing more of him. From the nature of his career (including the rumour that he had been a *primipilaris*), it seems probable that he was an *eques*.

publicum quadragessimae. This was the *portorium* (harbour-dues), which in Asia and Gaul was a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; for other customs-districts cf. Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten*², pp. 79–80. That the rapacity of the 'farmers' was a byword (cf. *Tac. Ann.* 13. 50) is well shown by this passage; at a later period it led to the establishment of imperial procurators to supervise them.

§ 3. *faenus* . . . *exercuit* : i. e. he was a moneylender.

Vespasia Polla. To her has been attributed an inscription found on the site of a house at Spolegium, in which something (presumably a statue) is dedicated to the emperor Gaius by a . . . Polla (*CIL.* xi. 4778). Bormann (in *Arch. Ep. Mitth. aus Oest.*, 1892, p. 33) points out that it is very unusual for such statues to be set up in private houses, and that where it was done some particular reason for gratitude may be assumed. He goes on to suggest that if this lady were our Vespasia Polla, as fits in with (1) the locality, (2) the symmetry, of the inscription; a motive for the dedication is at once given by the desire of Vespasia to win favour for her son's advancement, corresponding to Vespasian's own thanks in the Senate (c. 2). But the evidence for this attribution seems scanty: Spolegium after all is not Nursia, nor is Polla (a variant of Paulla) an uncommon name.

duobus ex ea liberis. Vespasia Polla had three children, but the eldest, a girl, died within the year (c. 5).

Sabinus. Since Vespasian's brother is not mentioned by name again in the Life, though he is referred to on more than one occasion (cc. 2, 4, 5), some account of his career may be here given. Our chief authorities are the obituary notice in Tacitus: *quinque et triginta stipendia in re publica fecerat, domi militiaeque clarus. innocentiam iustitiamque eius non argueres; sermonis nimis erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecim quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit, calumniatus est rumor.* (*Hist.* 3. 75), and a mutilated dedicatory inscription restored as follows: . . . [*leg. divi Clau*]di pro pr. provin[*c. Moe*]siae, cur. census] Gallici, praef. urb[*i*] iterum (or tertium). Huic senatus auctor[e | imp. Caes. Vesp]asiano fratre | [*clupeum po*]suit vadimon[*is* | honoris cau]sa dilatis, [*fu*]nus censorium] censuit, sta[tuam | in for]o divi Augusti [*ponen*]dam decrevit] (*CIL.* vi. 31293 = Dessau 984). We know also that he served on his brother's staff (ὑποστρατηγούντα οἱ) in Britain in 43 (Dio 60. 20).

The chief difficulty of his career lies in his tenure of the *praefectura urbis*. The twelve years specified by Tacitus takes us back to 57, and this would fit well with the supposition that he succeeded L. Volusius Saturninus, who died in office in 56 (*Tac. Ann.* 13. 30; *Plin. N. H.* 7. 62). Unfortunately we know that L. Pedanius Secundus was assassinated by one of his slaves while *praefectus urbi* in 61 (*Tac. Ann.* 14. 42), and consequently it has been proposed to change the *duodecim* of Tacitus to *septem* or *totidem* (see Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iii, p. 327). But since there is at least one gap in Sabinus' tenure—Galba (who feared Vespasian) displaced him in favour of A. Ducenius Geminus (*Tac. Hist.* 1. 14) in 68, and he was only restored by Otho (*Plut. Oth.* 5; *Tac. Hist.* 1. 46)—, it is possible, though the matter must be left uncertain, that there was a second gap, for reasons unknown, in 60–61, and

that the MS. reading of Tacitus is correct. At any rate, the suggested *cursus* below shows that the chronology of his career does not disallow this assumption.

The thrilling story of Sabinus' negotiations with Vitellius on his brother's behalf after the second battle of Bedriacum, and his death after the conflagration of the Capitol, is given in Tacitus (*Hist.* 3. 64-74). He had at any rate *children* (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 69): we know of two sons, Flavius Sabinus (Suet. *Dom.* 10; Dio 65. 17), and Flavius Clemens (Suet. *Dom.* 15; Dio 67. 14), both put to death by Domitian. His wife's name is unknown: for a conjecture as to her identity and other matters connected with the family, see Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, Appendix D.

I suggest the following dates for the *cursus* of Sabinus:

Born	8 <i>circa.</i>	
Quaestor	34	69-34 = 35 years of public service ascribed to him by Tacitus.
Praetor	38 <i>circa.</i>	
In Britain	43	
Consul	44-47	At any rate before his brother (51). Allusions of Tacitus to his superior standing (<i>Hist.</i> 3. 65, 75) would be absurd were this not so.
Governor of Moesia	48-54 <i>circa.</i>	He must have been a consular before holding this position (see S. E. Stout, <i>The Governors of Moesia</i> , p. 10 sq.).
Curator of Gallic census	54-56	
Praefectus urbi	56-60	= 4 years
Praefectus urbi iterum	61-68	= 7 years
Praefectus urbi tertium	69	= 1 year
		12 years
Put to death by Vitellius' army	69	(December 19th).

Nursiae. Nursia (*Norcia*) was a mountain town in the Sabine country on a tributary of the Nar (*Nera*).

Vespasium Pollionem. His positions of *tribunus militum* and *praefectus castrorum* show that he was of the equestrian order, and a tried soldier of long standing. His son Vespasius was no doubt given the *latus clavus* by Augustus.

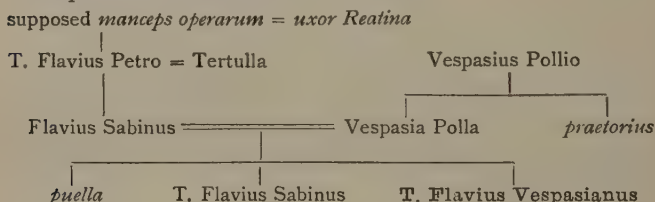
Spoletium (*Spoletto*), about twenty miles from Nursia. It was in

Umbria (but Nursia being quite cut off from other Sabine towns by the hills, and on the Umbrian side of the watershed, its natural outlet was down the valley of the Nar, near which Spolegium stood). It was here also that the supposed remains of Vespasia Polla's house were found (see above).

Vespasiae. Bormann (*loc. cit.*) suggests that this may possibly be the genitive of the noun, 'a place known as Vespasia's', i. e. Vespasia Polla's, but agrees that it is more probably the nominative of the adjective, *tabernae* or some such word being understood. We gather that the Vespasii were an old Italian family, as well as a distinguished one, and that the elder Sabinus made a good match.

§ 4. **e regione Transpadana.** This was of course a disparaging report: 'Vespasian's great-grandfather was not even an Italian'. The whole chapter, and especially this last sentence, is evidence of careful independent research by Suetonius.

Vespasian's descent is therefore as follows:



CHAPTER II

§ 1. **Vespasianus.** Titus Flavius Vespasianus was his full name before he became emperor—it occurs in the inscription recording his arbitration in a boundary dispute (*CIL.* vi. 1268): every Flavius of this line whose *praenomen* is recorded is a Titus. His *cognomen* is obviously derived from his mother's *gentilicium*, a customary method in imperial times of naming the second son of a marriage (see Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, ed. 3, p. 66); similarly Domitian, from his mother Domitilla, though here it is the *cognomen* that was used.

Falacrinae. Only mentioned in this connexion by Suetonius: other writers speak more loosely of Reate as Vespasian's birthplace. Falacrinae (there are several alternative spellings of the name) was some twenty miles beyond Reate up the Avens valley, situated on the Via Salaria just before the crossing of the Apennines. The name seems to be preserved to-day in the Church of S. Silvestro in Falacrino, in the neighbourhood of Cività Reale.

XV. Kal. Decb. . . . excederet : i. e. late in the day on November 17th, A.D. 9—the date is confirmed by the calendar of Philocalus (*CIL.* i², p. 255). Suetonius usually gives the year of a Caesar's birth *either* by the names of the consuls *or* by reference to some historical event connected with it : in only one other case (that of Tiberius) does he make use of both.

Tertulla : the wife therefore of Flavius Petro : she must have been many years younger than her husband (cf. c. 5).

in **praediis Cosanis.** Presumably this would be during the absence of Vespasian's father *apud Helvetios*. Cosa was an ancient town on the sea-coast of Etruria.

§ 2. **Sumpta virili toga :** the coming-of-age ceremony among the Romans, taking place at about the age of sixteen. It was then that the boy would decide on his future career.

latum clavum . . . potuit. The *latus clavus*, i. e. a broad purple stripe on the toga, was the recognized sign that the wearer belonged to the *ordo senatorius*, and was eligible for the public magistracies. Sons of senators assumed it *ipso facto*, and it would be conferred by the emperor—in this case by Tiberius—upon the sons of other wealthy and distinguished men as a qualification for a senatorial *cursus*. Vespasian then did not decide upon his career until later than usual ; though the *diu* of Suetonius can at most mean two or three years, since Vespasian was praetor at the earliest possible age (see below), and probably quaestor not more than a year in excess of it. The tendency of Suetonius (and of Tacitus as well : cf. *Hist.* 3. 65, 75) to exaggerate Vespasian's undistinguished early career, making it forced on him almost against his own will, and especially unpromising in comparison with the career of Sabinus (who after all was probably only quaestor at the same age as Vespasian, i. e. one year above the minimum—see note on c. 1), may be attributed to the desire to find in his rise to power another *ludibrium rerum mortalium*, such as they had traced in that of Claudius.

anteambulonem : originally the slave who walked in front of his master to clear a way, then usually the client who performed a somewhat similar duty for his patron ; e. g. Martial calls himself *tumidi anteambulo regis* = patron (2. 18). No doubt this is the sense in which Vespasia's taunt should be understood.

§ 3. **Tribunatum militum :** an office held by young men before the quaestorship, with a view to giving them some experience of military affairs ; they were known as *tribuni laticlavii* and would have no connexion with such a *tribunus militum* as Vespasian Pollio. Thrace was not at this time (the last years of Tiberius) a Roman province : it was a client kingdom, the king supported by a Roman resident magistrate with troops (see *Tac. Ann.* 2. 67).

quaestor. One of the quaestors of the year was usually allocated by lot to the governor of each of the senatorial provinces, and served

him normally as financial overseer. The most probable date for Vespasian's quaestorship seems to be 35 (see below).

aedilitatis. The *aedilitas* and the *tribunatus* were alternative stages in the *cursus honorum*. In this office Vespasian incurred the anger of Gaius for his neglect of the streets of Rome (c. 5, and Dio 59. 12). According to the chronology of Dio his aedileship was in 38; his quaestorship therefore was probably in 35, for (1) in the absence of evidence to the contrary we may assume that the usual year's interval would elapse between his tenure of one and his candidature for the other; (2) his first candidature for the aedileship failed.

praeturae. The *coniuratio* referred to as occurring during Vespasian's term of office must be the revolt of Lentulus Gaetulicus, governor of Upper Germany, and Aemilius Lepidus, the emperor's brother-in-law. Sacrifices are recorded in the Acts of the Arval Brothers on 27th October: *ob detecta nefaria consilia in C. Caes. Aug. Germani[cum] Cn. Lentuli Gae[tulici]* (Henzen, p. xlix), and that this was 27th October 39 is clear from the fact that Gaius was in Germany at the time of the revolt (Suet. *Claud.* 9), and that by 31st August 40 (the other possible year) he was back in Rome (Suet. *Cal.* 49). Vespasian therefore was praetor in 39, at the earliest possible age (thirty), and in the year immediately following his aedileship: this argues that he already possessed influential patronage.

sextoque . . . loco: i.e. in the last place of all (there were six aediles). This passage is interesting as showing that there was still some reality in the magisterial elections in the Senate.

hanc. Bentley's correction of the *ac* of the MSS. It is obvious that an antithesis to *illam* is required.

victoria eius Germanica. See Suetonius *Cal.* 43 sq.: this was what Tacitus calls the *Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium* (*Hist.* 4. 15; cf. *Germ.* 37). The fact that the campaign was undertaken well on into the autumn is enough to show that it had no real importance.

CHAPTER III

Inter haec: i.e. round about 37-9.

Flaviam Domitillam. We know little of her beyond what is told us here, but her *gentilicium* suggests that she was probably related to Vespasian by blood, and her *cognomen* that she was connected with one of the *Domitiae gentes*. It seems clear that the coins and inscriptions which mention *diva Domitilla* are to be referred to Vespasian's daughter rather than to his wife, for Statius (*Silv.* I. 1. 97), in speaking of the crowd of deified relations who will welcome Domitian to heaven,

*ibit in amplexus natus fraterque paterque
et soror,*

makes no mention of his mother. Probably therefore the *Domitilla Augusta* of the inscriptions is also the daughter. On this basis Mommsen (*Droit public*, v, p. 99, note 4) assigns, of inscriptions, to Vespasian's wife only the *titulus* found at Herculaneum (*CIL*. x. 1419 = Dessau 257), where neither title is present. She died before 69.

Statili Capellae. Nothing more is known of Statilius Capella.

Sabratensis. Sabrata (*Sabart*), in the neighbourhood of the Lesser Syrtis, was a town of Phoenician origin and one of the three *civitates* of Tripolis: later a Roman colony.

Latinaeque condicionis . . . pronuntiatam. Any one accused of being a slave who wished to vindicate his free status could have his case adjudicated by *recipitatores*: his spokesman was called *asseritor*. We learn from this passage that a similar process could be adopted for vindicating contested Roman citizenship. Probably it is owing to a misunderstanding of Suetonius' language that (pseudo) Aurelius Victor in two places (*Epit.* 10. 1, 11. 1) refers to Domitilla as a freedwoman; this we are not told, though it is clear enough that Vespasian married beneath him. See for *Latina condicio*, Plin. *Ep.* 10. 5, and Hardy, *ad loc.*

Flavio Liberale. Vespasian's father-in-law, of whom we know nothing more. His position as quaestor's clerk was that purchased by Horace after the battle of Philippi, and was a more honourable one than Suetonius implies: many *scribae quaestorii* were, or became, of equestrian rank.

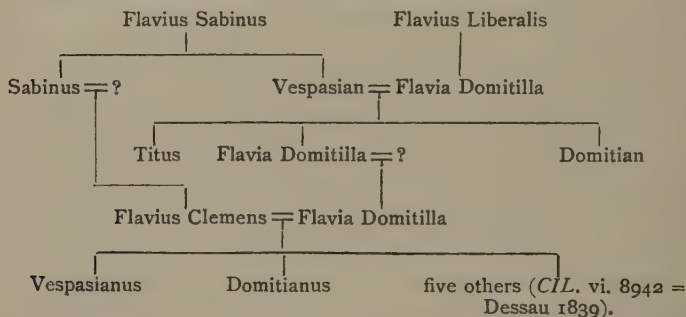
Ferenti. Ferentium or Ferentis was a small *municipium* in south Etruria, just off the Via Cassia, the ancestral home of the emperor Otho (Suet. *Oth.* 1).

Titum. Titus (Flavius Vespasianus) was born *prope Septizonium* 'in a little dark room of a mean house' (Suet. *Tit.* 1), his father being obviously in some degree of poverty at the time. The date of his birth was 30th December (*ib.*) of the year 39: Suetonius indeed says 41—*insigni anno Gaiana nece*—but since Dio (66. 18) gives his age on coming to the throne (23rd or 24th June 79) as 39 years 5 months 25 days—a figure which takes us back to 30th December 39, and is moreover confirmed by Suetonius himself (*Tit.* 11) when he speaks of Titus as dying (13th September 81) in his forty-second year—we can only conclude that Suetonius is correct in his day of the year but made a mistake in the year itself.

Domitianum. Domitian (T. Flavius Domitianus) was born in a house called *ad Malum Punicum*, afterwards consecrated as a temple of the *Gens Flavia*, on 24th October 51 (Suet. *Dom.* 1); he was thus nearly twelve years younger than Titus. He received his *cognomen* from his mother Domitilla (see note on c. 2 *ad init.*).

Domitillam. Flavia Domitilla: she was probably older than Domitian; if not, she must have died at latest when barely seventeen, having already married and borne a child. But even so the honours she received, consecration and the *nomen Augustae* (see above), were doubtless due to her imperial blood rather than to any intrinsic importance. Her husband's name is unknown; the fact that their daughter was a Flavia does not necessarily mean that he was a Flavius, for adoption into the imperial family might well account for it. This daughter was the Flavia Domitilla (the third of that name) who married Flavius Clemens—two sons of this marriage were regarded by Domitian as his successors (Suet. *Dom.* 15)—, and was later exiled, almost certainly as a Christian (on this point see e. g. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, iii, p. 553 sq.).

The following table shows the family of Vespasian:



Caenidem. Antonia Caenis (CIL. vi. 12037). If Vespasian made a bad match he had made a good liaison, for Caenis was already a trusted confidential servant of Antonia's in 31 (Dio 66. 14), and possibly Vespasian's advancement was in part due to her influence. She must have been nearly fifty when Vespasian's wife died, but he remained faithful to his former love for her until her death, and treated her 'almost as a lawful wife', a state of things of which Domitian (and no doubt other orthodox Romans) strongly disapproved (Suet. *Dom.* 12).

Antoniae. This was the lady known as *Antonia minor* (36 B. C. -A.D. 37), daughter of M. Antonius the triumvir, wife of the elder Drusus, and mother of Germanicus and Claudius. She is little heard of in the disputes of the other Julio-Claudian widows, but exerted none the less considerable political influence. She numbered among her personal friends and dependents distinguished Jews and Orientals, and client princes, besides Roman senators of the highest rank.

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. **Narcissi.** This is the famous freedman of Claudius, his secretary *ab epistulis*, who exercised immense influence in Rome during the first half of the reign. It has even been suggested that the conquest of Britain was directly inspired by him, though all we know for certain is that when the legions arrived at Boulogne, and objected mutinously to being shipped across the Channel, it was he that was sent to pacify them (Dio 60. 19). Doubtless it was through his influence also that Titus was introduced to court as the *familiaris* of Britannicus; his name at any rate is mentioned in connexion with the two boys (Suet. *Tit.* 2). What were his reasons for favouring Vespasian, or what return Vespasian made him, is unknown.

legatus legionis. He was legate of the II Augusta (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 44), a legion stationed in Upper Germany at Argentoratum (*Strassburg*) before it was detailed to form part of the army of invasion. It remained in Britain until the end of the Roman occupation. The *praefectus castrorum* of this legion under Vespasian in Britain was a certain P. Anicius Maximus (*CIL.* iii. 6809 = Dessau 2696).

in Germaniam. The then governor of Upper Germany was the future emperor Galba. There is little record of Vespasian's activities in this command: the two estimates we possess, both exaggerating by implication his military position (ἄνδρα . . . προειρηνεύσαντα μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐσπέραν ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ταρασσομένην, Jos. *B. I.* 3. 1. 2; *compescet ripis Rhenum*, Sil. Ital. 3. 599), do not suggest any considerable campaigns. It has been supposed that the words of Eutropius (7. 19), *in Germaniam et deinde in Britanniam missus tricies et bis cum hoste conflixerit*, as contrasted with the *tricies* (in *Britannia*) of Suetonius, refer to two victories in Germany, but it seems most improbable that this divergence is anything but a mistake in the MSS. of one or the other author.

in Britanniam. For a succinct account of the Claudian invasion of Britain in 43 see Anderson's ed. of Tac. *Agricola*, Introduction, p. xlv sq. Vespasian distinguished himself at the first battle, the crossing of a difficult river (Medway?) (Dio 60. 20); he was present also at the capture of Camulodunum, under the auspices of Claudius himself (see below). From this base three bodies of invasion proceeded to further conquest: the II legion under Vespasian formed the left wing, and overran south England—a tile found at Honey-ditches (near Seaton in Devonshire) records a temporary camp of the II legion there (*Eph. Epigr.* ix. 1268^a).

In 47 Vespasian was still in Britain, according to Dio's chronology (60. 30: Dio, however, tells in this connexion an impossible

story of Titus (eight years old!) saving his father's life); he presumably returned to Rome later in the year with A. Plautius.

duas validissimas gentes: these are usually identified as the Belgae (Hampshire and Wiltshire) and the Atrebates (Berkshire). See e.g. Teuber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eroberung Britanniens durch die Römer*, p. 52.

insulam Vectem = the Isle of Wight: Suetonius' description, *Britanniae proximam*, is vague, but more accurate at least than Pliny's, *inter Hiberniam ac Britanniam* (*N. H.* 4. 103).

Auli Plauti. A. Plautius had been *consul suffectus* in 29, and governor of a province for two or three years up to 43 (*CIL.* v. 698 = Dessau 5889): probably this was Pannonia; thence came the IX Hispana, one of the legions detailed for the invasion. Probably also he was related to the emperor's first wife, Plautia Urgulanilla. He received an ovation on his return in 47, an honour very rarely granted except to members of the imperial family.

Claudi ipsius ductu. Claudius was anxious that a part of the credit for the conquest should be his, and under his instructions A. Plautius delayed the decisive battle at the crossing of the Thames until he could arrive. The emperor was therefore able to superintend in person the capture of Camulodunum (*Colchester*), the capital of the Trinovantes, and to return to Rome to celebrate his triumph having spent sixteen days only in Britain (*Dio* 60. 23).

§ 2. **triumphalia ornamenta**. The triumph was by this time strictly a prerogative of the imperial house, but on the analogy of the *consularia* and similar *ornamenta*, a successful military commander could be given the *triumphalia ornamenta*, conferring on him the title and privileges of a man who had triumphed, without the triumph itself—Vespasian is thus quite properly described as *senex triumphalis* (*Tac. Hist.* 4. 8). Such an honour was decreed by the Senate, but usually on the emperor's proposal, a fact which was often recorded by the recipient (see e.g. inscription of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus—'auctore Vespasiano', *CIL.* xiv. 3608 = Dessau 986). Vespasian himself had doubtless well earned the distinction, but that Claudius was extravagantly lavish in granting it we learn both from Suetonius (*Claud.* 24) and from Tacitus (*Ann.* 11. 20).

duplex sacerdotium. One of these was presumably the augurate, an office prominently displayed later on Vespasian's coins (*Eckhel*, vi, p. 331). For other examples of *duplex* and *triplex sacerdotium* see Dessau in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 306.

consulatum... menses. Vespasian was thus *consul suffectus* in November and December: since Domitian was born 'while his father was *consul designatus*, in the month preceding his entry to office' (*Suet. Dom.* 1), and was in his forty-fifth year at the time of his death (18th September 96) (*ib.* 17; *Dio* 67. 18), the year must

have been 51, a year noteworthy in consular annals from the fact that Claudius (in spite of Suet. *Claud.* 14) was consul for nine if not for ten months (*Bullet. dell' inst.* 1871, p. 151). On the reduction in the term of the consulship under the empire see Mommsen, *Droit public*, iii, p. 93 sq.; other two-months' consulships occur in 37 (Suet. *Claud.* 7) and 54 (*ib.* 46).

medium tempus . . . perosam. Narcissus began to lose his influence at court through the consequences of the very act that he had planned to strengthen it, namely, the downfall of Messalina in 48. For when Claudius came to select a new wife, Narcissus failed to gain that position for his candidate, Aelia Paetina, and thereafter Agrippina, the successful competitor, used every means in her power to bring him into disfavour. On the death of Claudius in 54, which, even so, was plotted in Narcissus' absence, he was one of the first victims of the new reign. Agrippina's period of ascendancy over her son was short, two years at most, but presumably Vespasian's withdrawal from public life would last until her murder in 59 left him free from personal enemies at court.

§ 3. sortitus Africam. The governors of Africa, unless for some special reason, were chosen by lot from among the *consulares* of sufficiently long standing (see Tac. *Agric.* 42). The interval at this time between the consulship and the African command was from eight to thirteen years (Mommsen, *Droit public*, iii, p. 288), so that Vespasian's year can hardly have come before 59-60, and this agrees with the period of his *secessus* through fear of Agrippina (see above). On the other hand he must have held the command before his second *secessus* in 65 or 66 (see below), and probably a year or two before, to judge by the events recorded by Suetonius in between. We may probably therefore date his governorship to one of the five years from 60 to 64 (see Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes des provinces africaines*, i, p. 139 sq.).

integerrime . . . administravit. This estimate is not altogether borne out by Tacitus' description—*proconsulatum . . . famosum invisumque egerat* (*Hist.* 2. 97; cf. the attitude of Africa and her army on his accession, *ib.* 4. 49), nor by Suetonius' own account of the turnip-riot at Hadrumetum, nor by his use of the word *certe*, 'at any rate', implying that there might be a difference of opinion about what preceded; only Silius Italicus, for what his evidence is worth, concurs—*reget impiger Afros* (3. 599). On the other hand Tacitus agrees that Vespasian was in some financial straits on his return from Africa (see below). We may conclude therefore (1) that his administration was not corrupt, (2) that it *was* very unpopular—no doubt he displayed, in Africa also, those qualities, parsimony and insistence on military discipline, that met with so much unfavourable criticism later.

Hadrumeti: Hadrumetum (*Sousse*), a city of Phœnician origin on the coast of the old province, the site of Caesar's landing in 47.

nihilo opulentior . . . obligaret. Cf. the poverty and squalor of Domitian's early youth, i. e. about this time (Suet. *Dom.* 1). That Vespasian was forced to mortgage his estates to his brother Sabinus is recorded also by Tacitus, who adds that this unbrotherly method of financial aid was believed to have caused ill-feeling between the two, making Sabinus unwilling to associate himself actively with Vespasian's imperial aspirations (*Hist.* 3. 65).

ad manganicos quaestus. The word *mango* signified a dealer who by means of artifices assigned a spurious value to his goods, most often slaves or live-stock, whose value would fluctuate according to their condition: Vespasian's nickname implies that his dealings were in mules. Trading of this kind was of course regarded as dishonourable to a senator, but no doubt it was profitable: we hear of gorgeously-apparelled trains of mules being supplied at this time for the service of Nero and Poppaea (Suet. *Ner.* 30; Dio. 62. 28); possibly some of these actually came through Vespasian.

§ 4. **Peregrinatione Achaica:** i. e. Nero's tour in Greece in 66. This episode in Vespasian's life is complicated by the diversity of our authorities. Tacitus tells us, in connexion with Nero's stage-performances at Rome at the quinquennial games of 65, *ferabant Vespasianum, tamquam somno coniveret, a Phoebo liberto increpitem aegreque meliorum precibus obtectum, mox imminentem perniciem maiore fato effugisse* (*Ann.* 16. 5), and it has been assumed that this and the account in Suetonius are two versions of the same episode, (1) because Vespasian's caution would have kept him from offending twice in the same way, (2) because this freedman Phoebus reappears as the insolent usher in the story of Dio (66. 11), ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐσκυθρωπακότα ποτὲ αὐτὸν (Vespasian) ἐπὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι (this story occurs also, though without the usher's name, in Suet. *Vesp.* 14). Did the two accounts really refer to the same episode, Suetonius' version would surely be correct, for if Vespasian were virtually exiled in 65, he could not have accompanied Nero to Greece in 66, and that he *did* go to Greece is plainly stated by Dio, Suetonius (in c. 5 also), and Josephus (*B. I.* 3. 1. 3). But the supposed identity seems to me improbable: Tacitus' account rather suggests than excludes another lapse later; that Vespasian could not have given offence twice is not in accordance with Suetonius' *saepius*; nor is it very extraordinary that the same freedman who was spying on senators in Rome should have the duty of denying them audience in Greece. I conclude, therefore, that Vespasian offended first in Rome, when he was saved by the intercession of his friends, offended again in Greece, and was punished by banishment from court.

publica salutatione. Similarly Thræsea Paetus had been forbidden to pay the usual congratulatory call at the birth of Nero's daughter in 63, a prohibition which was regarded as a *praenuntia imminentis caedis* (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 23).

secessit. This second *secessus* was of short duration, two or three months at most. For Nero did not leave for Greece until 25th September 66 (Henzen, *Acta Arv.*, p. lxxxiv), and Vespasian must have been appointed to the Jewish command very early in 67 at latest. Since he sailed from *Greece* to *Judaea* (Jos. *B. I.* 3. 1. 3), the *civitas* in question was probably there or thereabouts.

§ 5. **vetus et constans opinio.** Josephus gives the oracle as follows: κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τις ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης (*B. I.* 6. 5. 4); on it see W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian*, p. 35 sq.; as he points out, Josephus is doubtless correct in citing the prophecy as of a single conqueror: Tacitus less accurately refers it, *profecti Iudaea*, to Vespasian and Titus (*Hist.* 5. 13), but Suetonius, with rather characteristic slovenliness, *Iudaea profecti*, to Vespasian alone.

de imperatore Romano: so Josephus thought (*loc. cit.*), but the Jews as a body accepted neither the imperial nor the Christian realization of their prophecy (for the latter see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* 3. 8); e.g. one of the leaders of their revolt under Hadrian was a Simon Bar-Kocheba (i. e. son of a star; cf. Numbers xxiv. 17), a title indicating his assumption of the rôle of Messiah.

caeso praeposito. This was Gessius Florus, appointed to the procuratorship of *Judaea* in 64 or 65, apparently on the strength of having married an intimate friend of Poppaea's (Jos. *A. I.* 20. 11. 1). Suetonius seems to have made a mistake here: it is difficult, if not impossible, to understand by *caeso* anything except 'killed', and Florus was not killed; he retired to Caesarea (Jos. *B. I.* 2. 15. 6).

legatum Syriae consularem. Cestius Gallus, appointed in 63 (if the correction of the MSS. in Tac. *Ann.* 15. 25 is correct). For the story of his campaign in *Judaea* see Josephus (*B. I.* 2. 19). He died soon after, *fato aut taedio*, while still in office (Tac. *Hist.* 5. 10).

rapta aquila. If an eagle was lost it must have been that of the XII Fulminata, which alone was present in force (Jos. *B. I.* 2. 18. 9). But Josephus' account, though recording that the XII legion was held to be dishonoured (*ib.* 7. 1. 3), does not mention this crowning disgrace: the story therefore is improbable (so Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii. 1706).

ipse . . . nominis. Nero was quite right: Vespasian would never have rebelled against *him*.

§ 6. **additis . . . duabus legionibus.** For the Jewish War Vespasian was given three legions—V Macedonica, X Fretensis, XV Apollinaris; what exactly Suetonius means by 'two legions were added to the forces' is uncertain. If it means 'to the forces in *Judaea*', Suetonius is in error, for there was no legion there. It cannot refer to two legions being brought from Alexandria by Titus (Jos. *B. I.* 3. 1. 3), for the text of Josephus has been shown to be faulty

here, and it is clear that only one was brought—the MSS. read τὸν μὲν υἱὸν Τίτον ἔστειλεν (Vespasian) ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας, τό τε πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον ἐκείθεν ἀναστήσοντα τάγμα, but this is inconsistent with ζεύγνυσι (Titus) τὸ ἀχθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδέκατον later on (3. 4. 2), and the alteration to τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον is easy (so Niese, and see Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii. 1574). It might mean that Vespasian was given, in addition to one Syrian legion (X), two non-Syrian legions (V and XV), which should have returned to their respective stations on the conclusion of Corbulo's Armenian war, but were detained in the East on account of the condition of Judaea (see Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, Eng. trans., ii, p. 211 n.) On the whole, however, it seems most likely that Suetonius wrongly imagined one legion already in Judaea; for that there were *alae* and *cohortes* there is confirmed by Josephus (*B. I.* 3. 4. 2), though he gives different figures. (See below.)

octo alis, cohortibus decem. Josephus (*loc. cit.*) gives five *alae* and eighteen *cohortes*, added to the one *ala* and five *cohortes* already in Judaea. No doubt his figures are correct.

inter legatos maiore filio assumpto. Titus was made legate of a legion (*legioni praepositus*, Suet. *Tit.* 4); this was clearly the XV Apollinaris, which he had been sent to bring from Alexandria (see above). Vespasian's other *legati legionum* were Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis, of the V Macedonica (*Jos. B. I.* 3. 7. 32), and the elder Trajan, of the X Fretensis (*ib.* 3. 7. 31).

convertit in se : one of his notable conquests was the III Gallica legion (see on c. 6).

correcta statim castrorum disciplina. Exactly in the same way Corbulo was to discipline the Syrian legions before he could trust them on military campaigns (*Tac. Ann.* 13. 35).

in oppugnatione castelli : at the siege of Jotapata in 67 (*Jos. B. I.* 3. 7. 22). Josephus makes him wounded by an *arrow* in the *flat of the foot* : doubtless his version is correct.

CHAPTER V

Suetonius gives no account of Vespasian's activities between the siege of Jotapata and his salutation as emperor (about two years). In the course of two campaigns in 67 and 68 he occupied and subdued the whole of Judaea except the city of Jerusalem (*Tac. Hist.* 5. 10). As he was about to proceed to this final task, he heard of the death of Nero, an event which automatically put an end to his appointment (*Jos. B. I.* 4. 9. 2) : he waited therefore for further news. The news that came was of the accession of Galba, and Titus was sent to pay homage to him, it was rumoured with the hope that he would be adopted by the childless old emperor (*Tac.*

Hist. 2. 1): a contradictory rumour asserted that Galba had sent assassins to murder Vespasian (Suet. *Galb.* 23). Anyway, when Titus reached Corinth he heard of Galba's assassination, and decided to return to Judaea, where both the Judaeian and the Syrian armies had already taken the oath of allegiance to Otho (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1-6; Suet. *Tit.* 5). Finally, when the news of the first battle of Bedriacum and of the death of Otho reached the East, they likewise took the oath of allegiance to Vitellius, unwillingly, Vespasian being not yet ready to declare himself (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 74).

§ 1. *in spem . . . conceptam*. The difference between 'entering into' a hope, and 'conceiving' it, is not very clear: Suetonius must mean that Vespasian had for long entertained the hope, but only now attempted the task of realizing it. The world at large thought nothing of his prospects until after the event (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 10).

ostenta. Suetonius describes eleven *ostenta*: (A) the branches of the oak-tree, (B) Vespasian's adventure as aedile, (C) the stray dog, (D) the ox, (E) the cypress tree, (F) Nero's tooth, (G) the oracle at Carmel, (H) the prophecy of Josephus, (I) Nero's dream, (J) the strange behaviour of Caesar's statue, (K) the three eagles at Bedriacum. Of these only the first and last are found in Suetonius alone. Tacitus gives (E) (G) (J) (*Hist.* 1. 86; 2. 78); Dio (B) (C) (D) (E) (F) (H) (I) (last six in 66. 1, (B) in 59. 12); Orosius (H) (7. 9); Josephus (H) (naturally at greater length, *B. I.* 3. 8. 9); and Plutarch (J) (*Oth.* 4). These authors, moreover, record no other *ostenta* than these.

§ 2. *In suburbano . . . filius suus*. On the various personages concerned in this oracle see on cc. 1 and 2. The theory of this oracle, like that of the cypress tree, was that the life of a family or individual could be bound up in the life of a tree, the Life-Tree (see Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, ii, p. 168).

§ 3. *aedilem*: see on c. 2.

§ 4. *manum humanam*: for the hand is the natural symbol of power: *manus* indeed is frequently used in this sense, especially in relation to the power of a husband over his wife (Gai. *Inst.* 1. 108).

arbor quoque . . . resurrexit. Dio (66. 1) says the tree was torn up *ὑπὸ σφοδρῷ πνεύματος*, Tacitus merely *repente* (*Hist.* 2. 78). But clearly the point of the oracle was not in the tree's fall but in its resurgence. This episode occurred in Vespasian's youth (Tac. *loc. cit.*), so that the *ager avitus* must be his grandmother Tertulla's estate at Cosa. The sudden downfall of this same tree later heralded the murder of Domitian and the extinction of the Flavian dynasty (Suet. *Dom.* 15).

§ 5. *in atrium*: i. e. from Nero's bedroom into the hall, where his courtiers would be respectfully waiting.

§ 6. *Carmeli dei oraculum*. Mt. Carmel is a spur of the Anti-Libanus, on the borders of Phoenicia, and stands up sheer from the

Mediterranean. Probably there was not a proper oracle here, but there would be a place for sacrifice, and divination from entrails would be rendered more sure by the sanctity of the high place (see Bouché-Leclercq, *Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iii, p. 399). Orosius (7. 9) makes this the occasion of the *Judaea profecti* oracle, but clearly he is wrong, for that was found ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν (Jos. B. I. 6. 5. 4); what Vespasian was given was a personal fortune (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 78). Tacitus gives the priest's name, Basilides (to be distinguished from the Basilides implicated in another imperial portent; see on c. 7).

unus ex nobilibus captivis Iosephus. This is the famous Jewish historian and antiquarian: the proper form of his name, Iosepus, is preserved in the Italian Giuseppe, but long usage in Latin has confounded it with the form Joseph (see Niese, *Josephus*, i, p. v). He was born in 37 or 38 (*A. I.* 20. 12), connected on his mother's side with the royal house of Judaea (*Vita*, 1). He conducted the defence of Jotapata in 67, and when the town was captured fell into the hands of Vespasian; this was the occasion of his prophecy. On Vespasian's accession he was set free; he accompanied Titus to Rome in 71, was given the Roman citizenship by the emperor (hence his Roman *gentilicium* Flavius), and a grant of lands in Judaea. The date of his death is unknown (after 93). (See two recent works: Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*; W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian*.)

That Suetonius had no knowledge of the *Bellum Iudaicum* seems clear from the four discrepancies in his short account of the war: viz. with regard to the fate of Florus, the capture of the XII Fulminata eagle, the composition of Vespasian's forces, and the nature and cause of Vespasian's wound (see on c. 4).

For Josephus' own account of this prophecy see *B. I.* 3. 8. 9. Dio (66. 1) makes Josephus say μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ λύσεις αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος, which would make the prophet a little too sanguine.

§ 7. *tensam*. The *tensa* was the sacred chariot that bore the attributes of the various gods in the solemn procession at the Circensian games. The dream thus implied that Vespasian was under the especial favour of Jupiter.

comitia secundi consulatus: i. e. at the end of 68. Galba was *consul II ordinarius* in 69 with T. Vinus. Tacitus (*Hist.* 1. 86) and Plutarch (*Oth.* 4) both put this prodigy in the reign of Otho.

acie Betriacensi: the decisive battle between the armies of Otho and Vitellius: its site is now identified with that of the modern village Calvatone, at the convergence of the Verona-Cremona and Hostilia-Cremona roads. Of the name Suetonius always uses the form Betriacum (also *Oth.* 9; *Vit.* 10 and 15: so Plutarch), Tacitus Bedriacum (so Josephus); Juvenal (2. 106) refers to Bebricum.

CHAPTER VI

§ 1. *nec tamen . . . fortuito favore.* This story, that the Moesian army at Aquileia was the first to acclaim Vespasian emperor, and that his subsequent actions were influenced by their support, is peculiar to Suetonius; in Tacitus the Moesian army (in Moesia) have plainly heard of Vespasian's salutation in the East before they move (*Hist.* 2. 85; so also *Jos. B. I.* 4. 10. 6): Tacitus only says that the movements of Vespasian were hastened by the ardour of the Danube legions on his behalf. But there seems no reason to doubt Suetonius; his story reads like a temporary outburst of disaffection against Vitellius, soon placated (*tunc quidem compressa res est*) and may well have come from his father Suetonius Laetus, a tribune at this time in the Pannonian XIII Gemina legion (*Suet. Oth.* 10).

§ 2. *Moesiaci exercitus.* The three legions of the Moesian army were the III Gallica, VII Claudia, VIII Augusta. It is clear that Suetonius imagined them as sending detachments only in support of Otho; Tacitus' account is not so clear, and at first sight would seem to assume that these legions marched out *en bloc*—he talks about the Moesian *legions* arriving at Aquileia (*Hist.* 2. 46), and it is the *legions* that tear down the Vitellian *vexilla* there (*ib.* 2. 85). Yet these legions in his narrative are certainly back in Moesia in July or August, when they declared for Vespasian, and there is no mention of their return in the detailed account of the disposal of the Othonian forces (*ib.* 2. 66–7). As therefore Suetonius' narrative probably rests here also on the information of his father (see above), and as it is not certain what Tacitus means to imply, it is perhaps safer to assume that he means by *legiones* 'legionary forces' (as he certainly does in *Hist.* 2. 30), and that detachments only were sent to Italy (see Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia*, p. 24, and Hardy in *J. of Ph.*, 1910, p. 136).

postquam ingressis . . . attulisse. On this point Tacitus differs definitely; he makes the arrival of the forces from Moesia at Aquileia announced to Otho immediately after the battle (*Hist.* 2. 46). It is impossible to decide whose chronology is correct.

Aquileiam. Aquileia was in Venetia, at the north-east corner of Italy, the natural point of concentration for troops from the Danube provinces. It was about 125 miles as the crow flies from Bedriacum.

ibi per occasionem . . . grassati: cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2. 85.

§ 3. *e legione tertia.* The III Gallica legion, transferred from Syria to Moesia in 67–68 (see Filow, *op. cit.*, p. 11, and Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii. 1521). It had had a long and distinguished career in the East (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 24), whence it brought a custom that helped to decide the coming battle (*ib.*). Tacitus agrees that

it favoured Vespasian – *tertiam legionem, quod e Syria in Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat* (*ib.* 2. 74, where *suam* clearly refers to Vespasian, not to Mucianus), as also that it was the instigator in Flavian support (*ib.* 2. 85). Its legate was at this time T. Aurelius Fulvus, grandfather of the emperor Antoninus Pius (*ib.* 1. 79; *CIL.* iii. 6741 = Dessau 232).

Tiberius Alexander. Ti. Iulius Alexander was the son of a Jew named Alexander, alabarch (i. e. head of the Arab custom-house officials) at Alexandria (*Jos. A. I.* 20. 5. 2), and the nephew of the Jewish philosopher Philo (*ib.* 18. 8. 1), but was himself an apostate (Tacitus thus calls him an Egyptian, *Hist.* 1. 11). He was procurator of Judaea from about 45 to 48 (*Jos. A. I.* 20. 5. 2), served in Corbulo's Armenian war in 63 (*inlustris eques Romanus*, Tac. *Ann.* 15. 28), and was made *praefectus* of Egypt in 66 (*Jos. B. I.* 2. 15. 1): his two legions were the III Cyrenaica and the XXII Deiotariana. Tacitus' narrative refers also to his favour for Vespasian (*Hist.* 2. 74): one interesting link between the two is furnished by the fact that Alexander the alabarch was one of the many Jews in the entourage of Antonia (*Jos. A. I.* 19. 5. 1; see on c. 3). Tacitus and Dio (66. 8) also ascribe the first salutation to the Egyptian legions: Josephus gives the credit to Judaea (*B. I.* 4. 10. 4–6). Ti. Alexander served afterwards as chief of staff to Titus and was present at the capture of Jerusalem. On his famous edict as *praefectus* of Egypt (*IGR.* i. 1263, *OGI.* 669, partly given in Bruns, *Fontes*⁷, p. 243 sq.) see Stuart Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy*, p. 35 sq.

Kal. Iul. Tacitus also says of this day, 1st July 69, *isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus* (*Hist.* 2. 79). Vespasian reckoned the years of his *tribunicia potestas* from this date, though it was not till 22nd December that the *Lex* conferring it was promulgated by the Senate (see note on c. 12).

V. Idus Iul.: i. e. 11th July. Tacitus (*loc. cit.*) says *V. Nonas Iul.*, i. e. 3rd July. The difference may well be only a MSS. error in one of the two authors, for it is clear that Suetonius and Tacitus are using the same source here (cf. similarity of phrase quoted above and *apud ipsum iuravit* = Tacitus' *apud ipsum iurasset*). The only advantage of Suetonius' date is that this would give time for the news of the proclamation at Alexandria to have reached Judaea. Josephus (*B. I.* 4. 9. 9) records that Vespasian started for an expedition from Caesarea on 23rd June (πέμπτη Δαισίον μηνός), but this too must be an error (Dessau, *Gesch. der römischen Kaiserzeit*, ii. 1, p. 351).

§ 4. *ultionem mandantis.* This means it was written after Otho had been defeated and before he committed suicide, a period in which he certainly wrote other letters (Suet. *Oth.* 10).

destinasse ... militiam. The same story is in Tacitus (*Hist.* 2. 80), who adds that the rumour was set afoot by Mucianus.

Licinius Mucianus: C. Licinius Mucianus (*CIL*. xiv. 2173), the chief instrument of Vespasian's accession, appointed governor of Syria with the command over four legions in 67 in succession to Cestius Gallus; Nero no doubt selected him, like Vespasian, as a capable administrator and an improbable rebel. He had been virtually exiled by Claudius, and his reputation in private life was bad; even after Nero's death it is clear that in spite of his great influence and authority he was not regarded as a possible emperor: Tacitus' epigram on him is well-known—*cui expeditius fuerit tradere imperium quam obtinere* (*Hist.* 1. 10). That Mucianus and Vespasian had previously been at enmity, while governors of adjacent provinces, is also recorded by Tacitus (*ib.* 2. 5); his story is that it was Mucianus' friendship with Titus that finally led him to support Vespasian, and to urge him to make a bid for empire (*ib.* 2. 74-7. This story is criticized by Kappelmacher). On Vespasian's salutation by the legions, Mucianus was dispatched with troops for the attack on Italy, but only arrived when the decisive battle had been fought and Vitellius was dead. In spite of this, he at once assumed the position of Vespasian's regent and almost of his colleague, a position which he was loath to lay down on Vespasian's return (see c. 13). He died apparently *after* 75 (dramatic date of Tacitus' *Dialogus*, in which he is spoken of as though living, c. 37); *before* 77 (date of publication of Pliny's *Natural History*, in which he is spoken of as though dead). Pliny in this work refers constantly to his writings, which were voluminous, dealing chiefly with his personal investigations in the realms of geography, natural history, and art-criticism. (See for an account of him Kappelmacher in Pauly-Wissowa, xiii. 436 sq.)

Vologaesús Parthus. Vologaesús (there are various spellings of the name) was the famous Parthian monarch who in the reign of Nero had warred against Corbulo: his dates of rule are from 51 to about 78. Tacitus (*Hist.* 4. 51) puts this offer, or rather the receipt of this offer, after the news of Cremona had reached the East (40,000 *equites* he says, but of course in the Parthian army these were the same as *sagittarii*); but the distances were great, and probably Vologaesús was a *bona fide* supporter, and his offer may well have been made as a reply to the envoys previously sent by Vespasian (*ib.* 2. 82). Tacitus adds that Vespasian declined the offer, urging that ambassadors should be sent to the Senate (an act of constitutional etiquette on his part).

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. **Suscepto civili bello.** The Civil War was of course set on foot by Vespasian allowing himself to be saluted *imperator*, not by any movements of troops.

ducibus . . praemissis. The troops sent from the eastern provinces consisted of a body of light-armed soldiers under Mucianus, followed by the VI Ferrata legion in force and detachments from the other legions numbering 13,000 men (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 83). But no doubt Suetonius is referring also to the troops of the Danube army, which indeed had decided the issue long before Mucianus arrived.

Alexandriam . . obtineret. So Tacitus in the same phrase exactly—*Vespasianum obtinere claustra Aegypti placuit* (*Hist.* 2. 82). This phrase was apparently a standard one for describing the peculiar strategic position of Egypt—it does *not* mean ‘the two strongholds of Egypt’ (Alexandria and Pelusium), but rather ‘the stronghold of Egypt’ (i. e. *Aegypti* is a genitive of definition). Cf. the passage in the *Annals* (2. 59) where we are told that the importance of Egypt consisted in (1) the opportunity it afforded its possessor of reducing Rome to subjection by cutting off her corn supply, (2) its power of defence even by a small force against a large army. Cf. also Josephus (*B. I.* 4. 10. 5), where these reasons precisely are ascribed to Vespasian in occupying it. This was of course why Augustus refused to allow senators to enter Egypt without permission, and gave the command of the province to an *eques* who was practically his viceroy (see Hardy, *Monumentum Ancyranum*, p. 125).

aedem Serapidis. The Serapeum at Alexandria was a noted oracle (see the excursus on Serapis in Tac. *Hist.* 4. 83–4: *Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit* (*ib.* 4. 81), and Bouché-Leclercq, *Divination dans l'Antiquité*, iii, p. 377 sq.).

Basilides libertus. Many editors have proposed here to alter *libertus* into *liberius* or *uberius*, so as to get rid of the divergence of Suetonius from Tacitus (*Hist.* 4. 82), who makes Basilides an Egyptian noble. But there is much variation in the two accounts even apart from this, for Tacitus dates Vespasian's visit to the Serapeum *after* his remedial miracles, and puts both episodes, not in his period of uncertainty, but while he is assuredly emperor and only waiting for favourable winds to return to Rome. The point of the oracle is left obscure by Suetonius: it lay in Basilides' name—*vim responsi ex nomine Basilidis interpretatus est* (Tac. *loc. cit.*).

ac statim . . . nuntiantes. Clearly Suetonius has made a mistake here: the news of the victory at Cremona (the second battle of Bedriacum) and of Vitellius' death would not reach Vespasian simultaneously, as there was about two months between the two events (27th October—21st December). According to Tacitus (*Hist.* 3. 48) Vespasian had not yet reached Alexandria when the news of Cremona was brought him, so that if Suetonius' dating of this story be correct (see above), it must have been the death of Vitellius that these letters announced. It may be noted

that Suetonius gives in this Life no account of the decisive battle, nor of Vitellius' last days, doubtless because Vespasian himself was not present.

§ 2. *e plebe quidam . . . nec eventus deficit.* This story is also told by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4. 81) and by Dio (66. 8), with the difference that an infirmity of the hand is substituted in the second case for one of the leg. Tacitus adds that even when he wrote there were eye-witnesses to testify to the event, even *postquam nullum mendacio pretium*. (See G. G. Ramsay's notes on this passage of Tacitus, p. 389 of his translation.)

CHAPTER VIII

§ 1. *in urbem reversus.* There is a record in the Acts of the Arval Brothers (Henzen, p. xcvi) of an immolation to Fortuna Redux on the occasion of the emperor's return to Rome: unfortunately there is no indication of the date. We know, however, the following facts: (1) Vespasian was still in Alexandria at the time of an extraordinarily high Nile flood (Dio 66. 8)—the Nile does not reach its maximum till about 20th July. (2) He had left Alexandria for Rome before the final capture of Jerusalem (2nd September) could be announced in Egypt (Dio-Zon. 66. 9). (3) Titus received at Berytus the news of his father's safe arrival after he had celebrated his father's birthday, i. e. after 17th November (Jos. *B. I.* 7. 3. 1; 7. 4. 1): we may conclude therefore that Vespasian left Egypt some time in August 70 and reached Rome some time late in September or early in October. The reason for this long delay is not obvious, for Tacitus tells us that Vespasian was only waiting for the summer winds (*Hist.* 4. 81), and, moreover, that his anxiety to return was heightened by the news of the profligate behaviour of Domitian (*Hist.* 4. 51); perhaps his original plan was to wait until he and Titus could return together, but increasing impatience decided him to depart alone (so Dio-Zon. 66. 9).

acto de Iudaeis triumpho. Titus had brought the Jewish war to an end by the capture of the upper city of Jerusalem (2nd September 70), but he remained in the East during the whole of the winter, and it was not until the middle of June 71 that he was back in Rome (Chambalu in *Philologus*, xliv, p. 507 sq.: the *tribunicia potestas* of Titus dates from 1st July 71). Vespasian and Titus then triumphed in common (though the Senate had decreed a separate triumph to each), a few days only after Titus' return (Jos. *B. I.* 7. 5. 3), and while Domitian was still consul, i. e. before the end of June (*συνέπεμπε δέ σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ κέλῳ*, Dio-Zon. 66. 12). The details of the triumphal procession and the accompanying spoils from Jerusalem are given by Josephus (*B. I.* 7. 5. 3-7). Many coins also were struck

celebrating the victory, e.g. Mattingly, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1921, p. 200, with the legend *Iudaea devicta* and a representation of Judaea in an attitude of defeat, but the conquest was not considered glorious enough for either father or son to take the cognomen 'Iudaicus' (Dio 66. 7).

consulatus octo veteri addidit. Vespasian was *consul ordinarius* in every year of his principate but two—he had already assumed the consulship for 70 at Alexandria (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 38), so that Suetonius' expression is not strictly accurate. Clearly this large number of consulships (a return to the first system of Augustus, 27–23 B.C.) was part of his dynastic policy: he was anxious to lose no opportunity of adding lustre to the Flavian name, and the constant association of Titus in his father's honours (Titus was Vespasian's colleague in all the consulships but one, 71) was another step to assure the succession. At the same time and as part of the same policy the number of *consules suffecti* was increased, and their term of office reduced (on the consular *Fasti* for Vespasian's reign see Asbach, *Bonner Jahrb.* 1885, pp. 105–77; and cf. Anderson's *Agricola*, p. 168).

The full record of Vespasian's imperial consulships is as follows:

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| <p>II. 70 January 1,
with Titus I:
probably for four months.</p> | <p>Still consul April 1 (<i>CIL.</i> vi. 126, if interpretation is correct): probably Mucianus II and Petillius Cerialis were consuls May and June, if record of June 25, . . . NL . . . (<i>Fasti Fer. Lat.</i>) can be made to read . . . LL . . ., and see Jos. <i>B. I.</i> 7. 4. 2.</p> |
| <p>III. 71 January 1,
with M. Cocceius
Nerva:
probably for two months.</p> | <p>Domitian I consul April 5 with Cn. Pedius Cascus (<i>CIL.</i> x. 867 = Dessau 1990), May (<i>CIG.</i> iii. 5838) and June 25 (<i>Fasti Fer. Lat.</i>) with C. Calpetanus Valerius Festus: this looks like a two-months' term with each, starting in March.</p> |
| <p>IV. 72 January 1,
with Titus II:
for four months.</p> | <p>Still consul sometime in April (Henzen, <i>Acta Arv.</i>, p. xcvi); Mucianus III and T. Flavius Sabinus II consuls May 29 (<i>ib.</i>).</p> |
| <p>V. 74 January 1,
with Titus III:
for twelve days.</p> | <p>Titus and Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus II consuls January 13 (<i>CIL.</i> i. 774 = Dessau 5161. i).</p> |
| <p>VI. 75 January 1,
with Titus IV:
length of tenure unknown.</p> | <p>But seems to have retired before Titus, if mutilated piece of <i>Acta Arv.</i> inscription (Henzen, p. xcix) refers to consuls, as <i>CIL.</i> vi. 32361 makes it do.</p> |

- VII. 76 January 1,
with Titus V :
length of tenure un-
certain.
- VIII. 77 January 1,
1. with Titus VI :
2. with Domitian V :
length of tenure un-
certain.
- IX. 79 January 1,
with Titus VII :
length of tenure un-
certain.
- But Domitian IV consul with
Titus V (*CIL.* iii. 303 = Dessau
8904) ; this means that Vespasian
retired to make room for him.
In this case it was Titus who re-
tired early.
- But L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus
and P. Calvisius Ruso consuls
March 1 (*CIL.* vi. 597 = Dessau
3534 : 79 most probable year—see
Dessau in *J. R. S.* 1913, p. 305),
and Domitian had another consul-
ship (VI) before them.

suscepit et censuram. Vespasian assumed the censorship with Titus as his colleague : he saw in it a most valuable instrument for the reorganization of the State, and had decided on making use of it from the beginning of his reign—Titus is already described as *censor designatus* in an inscription of the second half of 71, immediately after his return from the East (Dessau 258). The censorship began early in 73—Vespasian is first described as censor *after* he has been designated for his fifth consulship, *before* his fifth *tribunicia potestas*, i. e. between about the end of March and 1st July 73 (*CIL.* vi. 1238)—; it ended (officially) in 74 after the normal eighteen months—Censorinus dates the lustral sacrifice to this year (*de Die Natali*, 18. 14)—, but certain events of the year 75, such as the enlargement of the *pomerium* (*CIL.* vi. 1232 = Dessau 248 : this however had been authorized in the *Lex de Imperio*), are probably to be connected with this office. Vespasian is called (retrospectively) censor in inscriptions until the end of his reign. The inscriptions dealing with the censorship are conveniently collected in H. C. Newton, *The Epigraphical Evidence for the Reigns of Vespasian and Titus*, p. 28 sq.

per totum . . . ornare. Suetonius gives us here one of his rare flashes of historical insight and power of expression. It would be hard to define Vespasian's policy more clearly or more succinctly than in this sentence, on which the rest of the Life is really nothing more than a commentary.

§ 2. **Milites . . . inter se agebant.** Suetonius now proposes to discuss the actions of Vespasian in regard to the army and the provinces ; he gives first the general reasons why these two departments of the empire demanded attention. In both cases the reasons given seem superficial : Vespasian's great military rearrangements were caused, not by the Civil War, but by the German rebellion and the mutiny of the Rhine army, which

Suetonius does not even mention; and the changes in status of the client kingdoms and free cities of the East were largely due (1) to the reorganization of the eastern frontier, (2) to the need for increasing taxation in the empire: only as regards Achaia and possibly Lycia is there reason to suppose that internal dissensions were the cause of the change.

Vitellianorum . . . coërcuit. This statement is misleading, and indeed inaccurate as it stands. The four Vitellian legions whose eagles were present at the second battle of Bedriacum were the I Italica, V Alaudae, XXI Rapax, XXII Primigenia, and none of these were disbanded. Measures were certainly taken—by Mucianus before Vespasian's arrival—to reduce the number of the Praetorian cohorts (raised by Vitellius to sixteen, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 93), and at the same time make room for those Praetorians expelled by Vitellius who had espoused Vespasian's cause (*ib.* 2. 67): it was therefore proposed, by means of grants of land, to get rid of the Praetorians newly enrolled by Vitellius (*ib.* 4. 46). Even so Mucianus found himself faced with an impending mutiny, and quite unable to disband these men *en masse*: it had to be done gradually (*carptim ac singuli*, *ib.*: confirmed by inscriptions relating to three soldiers of Vitellian legions transferred into Praetorian cohorts, who received *honesta missio* after 8 years', 15 years', 3 years' service respectively, *CIL.* vi. 2725, 2649, 2558 = Dessau 2034-6). The number of cohorts was, however, reduced: only nine—the normal number—remain in the diploma of 2nd December 76 (*CIL.* iii, p. 853 = Dessau 1993).

But it seems probable that Suetonius is referring also to the legions disbanded on the Rhine, and if so he has missed the point altogether, for they were disbanded not as Vitellians, but as mutineers. This is clear *inter alia* from the fact that the four legions disbanded, I, IV Macedonica, XV Primigenia, XVI, were the four whose eagles had remained in Germany (XV Primigenia did not mutiny, but surrendered at Castra Vetera). To replace these Vespasian incorporated three new legions, IV Flavia Felix, XVI Flavia Firma, II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis (Dio 55. 24), the last-named being the legion levied hurriedly by Vitellius after Cremona from among the sailors of the fleet at Misenum, and later formally enrolled by Mucianus (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 55, 4. 68).

TABLE OF LEGIONARY STATIONS AS REORGANIZED BY
VESPASIAN

(based on Ritterling's article 'Legio' in Pauly-Wissowa, xii).

No.	Before Civil War.	After Civil War and Revolt of Civilis.
I (Germanica)	Lower Germany	
V I Italica	Gallia Lugdunensis	Moesia
I Adiutrix	Rome (levied by Galba)	Upper Germany

No.	Before Civil War.	After Civil War and Revolt of Civilis.
II Augusta	Britain	Britain
II Adiutrix		Britain
III Augusta	Africa	Africa
III Gallica	Moesia (from Syria)	Syria
III Cyrenaica	Egypt	Egypt
IV Macedonica	Upper Germany	
IV Scythica	Syria	Syria
IV Flavia		Dalmatia
V V Alaudae	Lower Germany	Moesia (destroyed 86)
V Macedonica	Judaea (from Moesia)	Moesia
VI Victrix	Spain	Lower Germany
VI Ferrata	Syria	Syria
VII Claudia Pia		
Fidelis	Moesia	Moesia
VII Gemina (Gal- biana)	Pannonia	Spain
VIII Augusta	Moesia	Upper Germany
IX Hispana	Britain	Britain
X Gemina	Spain	Lower Germany
X Fretensis	Judaea	Judaea
XI Claudia Pia		
Fidelis	Dalmatia	Upper Germany
XII Fulminata	Syria	Cappadocia
XIII Gemina	Pannonia	Pannonia
XIV Gemina Martia		
Victrix	Dalmatia or Pannonia	Upper Germany
XV Apollinaris	Judaea	Pannonia
XV Primigenia	Lower Germany	
XVI (Gallica)	Lower Germany	
XVI Flavia		Cappadocia (?)
XX Valeria Victrix	Britain	Britain
V XXI Rapax	Upper Germany	Lower Germany
V XXII Primigenia	Upper Germany	Lower Germany
XXII Deiotariana	Egypt	Egypt

We may note that Vespasian showed he had no fear of the old Vitellian legions by stationing two of them together in Lower Germany and the other two together in Moesia (though in different camps).

participibus autem . . . persolverit. Demands for donatives by the soldiers were an important factor in the Civil Wars (see index to G. G. Ramsay's translation of the *Historiae* s. v. *donative*), and it was the opinion of Tacitus that Galba could have won over the Praetorians, *quantulacumque parci senis liberalitate* (*Hist.* i. 18); Vespasian's stand against indiscriminate largesse was thus courageous. What Suetonius means by *sero* is not quite clear :

Mucianus certainly gave the Flavian soldiery 25 *denarii* a head as soon as he reached Rome (Dio 65. 22. This is 100 sesterces a head, and is very small in comparison with the 5,000 that Otho gave the Praetorians, Tac. *Hist.* 1. 82); but perhaps Suetonius is referring to a later payment made by Vespasian in person. The phrase *etiam legitima praemia* may be taken as identical with the parallel phrase in Tacitus about the moderation of Vespasian's promises, *ne Vespasianus quidem plus civili bello obtulit quam alii in pace* (*Hist.* 2. 82), i.e. a sum no larger than they would have obtained for ordinary military services.

§ 3. *ac ne quam occasionem . . . revocavit.* Vespasian had always been known as a disciplinarian. Cf. his action at the beginning of the Jewish War (c. 4), and the laudatory estimate of Tacitus, *prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par* (*Hist.* 2. 5), no doubt referring partly to this side of his character. I suppose the point of Vespasian's remark was, that he would rather have a boorish manly *praefectus* than a cultured effeminate one (to smell of garlic being the mark of the yokel).

classarios vero . . . cursitare. Apparently this 'shoe-money' was a recognized form of indirect donative: cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3. 50, of Antonius' army on the march to Rome, *seditiosae militum voces . . . clavarium (donativi nomen est) flagitantium*: *clavarium* = 'shoe-nail money'. Vespasian's order was thus a sort of grim practical joke: he would do away with this particular excuse in future. Hirschfeld thinks that these men were couriers (*Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten*², p. 228).

§ 4. *Achaia*m. Nero had granted *libertas* to the whole province of Achaia at the end of his visit there in 66-7, i.e. he had rendered it immune from Roman tribute and outside the jurisdiction of any Roman official. Vespasian abruptly cancelled this grant, declaring ἀπομεσθηκέναι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, 'that the Greeks had forgotten how to be free' (Paus. 7. 17). Against the resentment of the Greek population of the empire (e.g. the philosopher Apollonius, Philostr. *Apoll.* 5. 41), he pleaded acute internal dissensions (which even Philostratus admits existed, though οὐπω τῆς ἐπὶ τοσόνδ' ὀργῆς, *loc. cit.*), but doubtless he had principally in mind the needs of the imperial exchequer. (It must be noted, however, that *liberae civitates* did not always possess *immunitas*—see instances in Tac. *Ann.* 12. 61-3).

Achaia became a senatorial province under a proconsul of praetorian rank; at the same time it seems to have been reduced in size by the inclusion of Thessaly in the province of Macedonia and the isolation of Acarnania and the Epirus under a procurator. The date of the change is not certain. Philostratus (*loc. cit.*) puts it in 70, during Vespasian's visit to Achaia on his voyage back to Rome: if so, it is strange that Josephus does not mention it, though he refers to the visit (*B. I.* 7. 2. 1). A more probable date is that

given in the Chronicle of Eusebius, year of Abraham 2090 = 1st October 73—30th September 74. Now all these alterations in the status of free cities and kingdoms, it is true, are cited together in the Chronicle under this year, and in some cases, where we have other evidence, the year is unsatisfactory; but Eusebius must have had some reason for his dating, and most probably this was that the change in the status of Achaia *was* ascertained to have fallen in this year; the other changes were then merely appended as they followed in Suetonius.

Lyciam. Claudius had taken away the *libertas* of the Lycians *ob exitiabiles inter se discordias* (Suet. *Claud.* 25); it must then have been restored by Nero (after 57, Tac. *Ann.* 13. 33). Vespasian now formed the imperial province of Lycia and Pamphylia (Pamphylia formerly went with Galatia, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 9): we know of two *legati* during his reign, Sex. Marcius Priscus and L. Luscius Ocrea (*IGR.* iii. 609, 466). The date is uncertain (73-4 Chron. Euseb., but see above).

Rhodom. The *libertas* of the Rhodians, *adempta saepe aut firmata* (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 58), had first been taken away by Claudius (Dio 60. 24), then restored by him in 53, when the young Nero pleaded their cause (Suet. *Claud.* 25; *Ner.* 7; Tac. *loc. cit.*). Rhodes would now be included in the province of Asia. There is a strange passage in Festus (*Brev.* 10) to the effect that under Vespasian a *provincia Insularum* was established: certainly no such independent administrative province existed until the reforms of Diocletian, but McElderry suggests (*J. R. S.* 1913, p. 119 sq.) that there may have been a financial procuratorship of the islands established now similar to the *provincia Hellesponti* recorded about this time (inscription of C. Minicius Italus, *CIL.* v. 875 = Dessau 1374), and thus Festus may have 'preserved by accident a fragment of genuine history'.

As to the date of the Rhodian loss of *libertas* we only know that Rhodes was free at the time of the 'Ποδιακός of Dio Chrysostom, an oration usually assigned to the beginning of Vespasian's reign. Possibly the change was one of the reforms in the province of Asia due to the prolonged governorship of T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (70-3; see McElderry, *loc. cit.*). It is noteworthy that Vespasian called at Rhodes and Lycia, as well as Achaia, on his voyage from Alexandria to Rome in 70 (Jos. *B. I.* 7. 2. 1; Dio-Zon. 66. 9); he had thus some first-hand knowledge of conditions in free states. But probably his main reason for the change was financial (cf. our designs on the ἀτέλεια of the Channel Islands).

Byzantium. Another state whose *libertas* was frequently taken away and restored (see Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, Eng. trans., i, p. 306). It formed part of the province of Pontus and Bithynia (Plin. *Ep.* 10. 43): the date of the change in its status seems to have been *after* 77, for Pliny's *Natural History*, published in that

year, speaks of Byzantium as *liberae condicionis* (4. 46). Pontus and Bithynia apparently became an imperial province for a short time about 78 (Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten*², p. 374: this is contested however by Rostovtzeff, *Ann. of B. S. A.*, xxii, p. 15 sq.), and possibly we may assign the incorporation of Byzantium to this period.

Samum. Doubtless incorporated at the same time and under the same conditions as Rhodes, but we have no further evidence about it.

Trachiam Ciliciam. This celebrated emendation of the *Thraciam Ciliciam* of the MSS. was first proposed by Turnebus. The MSS. reading is obviously wrong: Thrace and Cilicia proper had both long been governed directly from Rome (Thrace, e.g. *Tac. Hist.* 1. 11; Cilicia, e.g. *ib. Ann.* 13. 33). On the other hand we know from Dio (59. 8) that Gaius on his accession handed over to Antiochus IV Commagene, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας, and although he afterwards rescinded the grant, Claudius restored it (Dio 60. 8), with Cilicia Maritima still an adjunct to the kingdom (*Tac. Ann.* 12. 55). Since this part of Cilicia was commonly called *aspera* or τραχέια on account of its infertility, it seems quite certain that this is what Suetonius is referring to, and that the reading of the MSS. must be altered accordingly. Cilicia Maritima will then have been incorporated in the empire at the same time as Commagene (see below).

Commagenen. The story of the deposition of the king of Commagene (still Antiochus IV) is given in Josephus (*B. I.* 7. 7. 1-3) and is dated to the year 72 (ἔτος τέταρτον Οὐεσπασιανοῦ διέποντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, reckoning by the years of the calendar), before July, when Josephus' narrative ends. Although his forces had taken part in the Armenian War of Corbulo (*Tac. Ann.* 13. 7) and in the Jewish War (*ib. Hist.* 5. 1; *Jos. B. I.* 5. 11. 3), and he had, moreover, supported Vespasian's candidature for empire (*Tac. Hist.* 2. 81), yet he was now accused by Caesennius Paetus, governor of Syria, of planning an alliance with Parthia. This was serious news, for at Samosata on the Euphrates the Parthian empire impinged on Commagene, and such an alliance would mean a direct route open for a Parthian invasion of Syria. Paetus was therefore given instructions to act as he thought best, which he obeyed by taking the X legion, marching into Commagene, and deposing Antiochus. Antiochus himself submitted without resistance, but his sons Epiphanes and Callinicus first offered battle (cf. *bellum Commagenicum* in *CIL.* iii. 14387¹ = Dessau 9198), and then fled to Parthia, where they were surrendered to a centurion C. Velius Rufus, sent to retrieve them (Dessau 9200). All three were generously treated by Vespasian; Epiphanes' son Philopappus was adlected into the Senate by Trajan and attained the consulship (*CIL.* iii. 552 = Dessau 845). It is said that the emperor Gaius

learnt from Antiochus the arts of tyranny (Dio 59. 24): this means that Antiochus was probably one of Antonia's coterie (see on c. 3), and would thus be well known to Vespasian in his earlier life. Commagene was incorporated in the province of Syria; its capital was henceforth known as Samosata Flavia.

dicionis regiae usque ad id tempus. This is not strictly accurate; after the death of Antiochus III Commagene had been made in 18 a province of praetorian rank (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 56), and it was only Claudius who finally reconstituted the kingdom (see on *Trachiam Ciliciam* above). The Antiochi were a Seleucid dynasty, descended from Laodice, daughter of Antiochus VIII Grypus (see tables in Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, ii, p. 647).

Cappadociae . . . pro equite Romano. Cappadocia had been made a province by Tiberius in 18 (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 56), and assigned to imperial procurators of equestrian rank (Dio 57. 17, e. g. Iulius Paelignus in 51, Tac. *Ann.* 12. 49). Vespasian now turned it into a first-class province, with a governor of consular rank and two legions. Both the *consularis rector* and the *legiones* have been questioned, the presumption being that Suetonius was here thinking of the conditions in his own time. We may note at the outset that the two statements stand or fall together, i. e. a consular governor implies more than one legion and *vice versa*. But in both cases there are independent reasons for believing in Suetonius' accuracy. (1) With regard to the legions, it is pointed out that only the XII Fulminata is *mentioned* as having been sent to Cappadocia at this time (Jos. *B. I.* 7. 1. 3), and that the second legion stationed there under Hadrian, the XV Apollinaris, was under Vespasian in Pannonia (*ib.* 7. 5. 3, and inscriptions). Suetonius' *legiones*, however, is corroborated by Tacitus (*Hist.* 2. 81), and there is one legion, the newly-created XVI Flavia, whose station under Vespasian is unknown. Probably therefore it and the XII formed the garrison of Cappadocia during his reign (so Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii. 1765). (2) Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, a senator of *praetorian* rank, is described in an inscription from Ephesus (Dessau 8971) as *leg. Aug. divorum Vespasiani et Titi provinciae Cappadociae et Galatiae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Paphlagoniae, Armeniae Minoris*. We know, however, of two *consular* governors in Vespasian's reign, Cn. Pompeius Collega (*CIL.* iii. 306 (inaccurate) = Dessau 8904) and M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa (*IGR.* iii. 223), and the clue to Polemaeanus' position is provided by the fact that Fronto's governorship also continued under Titus, as many coins attest; i. e. he and Polemaeanus were in the province at the same time. Polemaeanus therefore was his subordinate, and probably analogous to the *iuridici* in the Western Provinces (see on him Cumont, *Acad. Belg. Bull. cl. d. lettr.*, 1905, p. 197 sq., Ritterling, *Oest. Jahresh.*, 1907, p. 299 sq., and Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, x. 544 sq.).

The XII legion was sent to Melitene in Cappadocia in the autumn of 70; the formation of the province was then presumably one of the first acts of Vespasian's reign, though the first mention of it in inscriptions is in January-July 76. As reorganized it came to include much more than Cappadocia alone (see inscription of Polemaeanus quoted above, and Cumont in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, p. 109 sq.). The reasons for the change are not very lucidly given in Suetonius' *propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus*. The point was that since Rome had abandoned under Nero the system of maintaining her own nominee on the throne of Armenia, and had allowed it to be occupied by a Parthian prince (though a vassal of Rome), a legionary force in Cappadocia was essential. See for a discussion of the eastern frontier problem Henderson's *Nero*, p. 153 sq.: he seems wrong, however, in thinking that the Neronian arrangements brought about complete peace with Parthia until the reign of Trajan. There were certainly hostilities in 76-7, for the elder Trajan, governor of Syria at that time, was awarded the *triumphalia insignia* for successes in a Parthian war (Plin. *Paneg.* 14 and 16). The statement of Aurelius Victor, *bello rex Parthorum Vologesus in pacem coactus* (*Caes.* 9. 11), is probably only a misreading of the reference to Vologaesius in c. 6 of this Life.

§ 5. *Deformis urbs*. Suetonius gives a selection only of Vespasian's building operations. For a list of many more see Weynand in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 2689.

restitutionem Capitolii. The Capitoline temple had been completely destroyed, on 19th December 69, by the Vitellian army in its attack on Sabinus (*Tac. Hist.* 3. 71). Dio too records (66. 10) that Vespasian, immediately on his return to Rome in 70, started with his own hand the rebuilding of the temple. A religious ceremony, the consecration of the ground and the foundation-stone laying, had already taken place on 21st June in Vespasian's absence (*Tac. Hist.* 4. 53). Some writers still suppose that Suetonius and Dio are referring to this event, but all the evidence is against them: Vespasian certainly did not reach Rome till months after 21st June (see above), nor would the praetor Helvidius Priscus have officiated if Vespasian had been present; and in any case, the ceremony described by Tacitus was clearly inaugural only. An *eques*, L. Iulius Vestinus, was appointed to superintend the restoration (*Tac. loc. cit.*): Vestinus, though a distinguished man, was a native of Gallia Narbonensis (*or. Claudii Lugdunensis* = Dessau 212), and no doubt this appointment gave great offence to the Senate. The temple, six-columned, was apparently finished in 71 (see the coins of Vespasian's third consulship in Cohen, *Vespasien*, nos. 486 sq.). It was again destroyed by fire immediately after Vespasian's death (*Plut. Poplicola* 15).

aerearumque tabularum . . . concessis. This reads like a

more detailed account of the commission recorded by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4. 40), *qui aera legum vetustate delapsa noscerent figerentque*. On this see Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, i. 2, p. 55.

CHAPTER IX

§ 1. **templum Pacis.** Begun by Vespasian immediately after his triumph in 71 (*Jos. B. J.* 7. 5. 7), to celebrate the return of peace to the empire and the closing of the temple of Janus (this last only in *Oros.* 7. 9, quoting however—7. 3, 7. 19—a lost book of the *Histories*, fr. 4 and 5 of the Oxford text). It was dedicated at the beginning of 75 (*Dio* 66. 15). Vespasian used the ground, south-east of the Forum of Augustus, which had been left free by the fire in 64: works of art and sculptures from every land were placed in the temple, among others the golden vessels taken by Titus from Jerusalem.

Divique Claudii. This temple existed until the time of Constantine: it stood on the Caelian Hill and occupied part of the site of the Golden House of Nero:

*Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,
ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.* (*Mart. Spect.* 2.)

On it see Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, i. 3, p. 232 sq. On Nero's neglect of his predecessor's honours see (pseudo) Seneca, *Octavia* 249 and *Suet. Claud.* 45—in numerum deorum relatus (Claudius); *quem honorem a Nerone destitutum abolitumque recepit mox per Vespasianum*. Claudius, however, is called *Divus* in inscriptions throughout Nero's reign, though strangely enough not in the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*: possibly it was the participation of Claudius in the *sodales Augustales* (there is, as a matter of fact, no mention of *sodales Augustales Claudiales* before the reign of Trajan) that originated under Vespasian in connexion with the new temple.

amphitheatrum. This was the famous *Amphitheatrum Flavium*, known as the Colosseum since the Middle Ages. It was built on the site of the lake of Nero's Golden House, in the hollow between the Esquiline and the Caelian Hills:

*hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.* (*Mart. loc. cit.*)

It was built three stages high by Vespasian, two were added by Titus, and it was finally completed by Domitian (*Chronogr. a.* 354, p. 146, ed. Mommsen).

§ 2. *recenso senatu et equite*. This, of course, was one of the acts of Vespasian's censorship: on the whole subject of the composition of the Senate at this time see B. Stech, *Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum*. As censor also Vespasian created new patricians (for the lists and evidence see Stech, *op. cit.*, p. 133: to which add P. Calvisius Ruso, inscr. in *J. R. S.* 1913, p. 302).

summotis indignissimis. Among those expelled from the Senate was M. Palfurius Sura (Suet. *Dom.* 13; schol. Juv. 4. 53).

honestissimo quoque . . . adlecto. *Adlectio in senatum* was the means employed by the emperor for the advancement of capable persons, worthy of seats in the Senate and of the higher magistracies and governorships, but unwilling, or too old, to go through the customary routine of minor offices. Such men would be adlected *inter praetorios*, *inter aedilicios* or *tribunicios* (these were alternative stages), or *inter quaestorios*, and would have the position and privileges of one who had been praetor, aedile, tribune, or quaestor, in the regular way.

Vespasian's *adlectiones* in 73-4 during his censorship with Titus were of course quite constitutional, taking place in connexion with the *lectio senatus* of which Suetonius speaks. Of the following list nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 certainly, and others probably, were adlected during this period. On the other hand no. 16 certainly, and nos. 11 and 14 possibly, were adlected in 69, immediately after Vespasian's salutation by the eastern legions, when *plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos* (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 82). This action of Vespasian's was clearly a usurpation of power: it seems, however, to have established a precedent, for future emperors assumed the *censoria potestas* as a part of the imperial powers, Domitian with the title *censor perpetuus*, Trajan and his successors without even the authority that such a title could give them.

As regards the individuals adlected by Vespasian, there are three examples (nos. 1, 2, and 3) of men of the *ordo senatorius* raised to higher rank by this means: most of those recorded, however, are Italians and provincials of non-senatorial family, as Suetonius rightly says (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 55). Of these many, nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14, are known to have previously been distinguished members of the equestrian service. The object of Vespasian's policy of *adlectio* was clearly to make a path for such experienced administrators into the higher service of the State, but it had the effect also of giving the emperors as complete a control over the personnel as they had previously had over the activities of the Senate.

The following examples of *adlecti in senatum* by Vespasian are known:

A. *Inter praetorios.*

1. *C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus*, *cos. suff.* 100 with Pliny.
CIL. xiv. 2925 = Dessau 1024.
Already, however, a senator of aedile rank.
 2. *Cn. Domitius Curvius Tullus*.
CIL. xi. 5211 = Dessau 991.
Already a *tribunicus* and *praetor designatus* when sent to Africa as *legatus*; *apsens inter praetorios relatus*. Possibly this promotion was not technically *adlectio*, but since the dates indicate that it fell within the period of Vespasian and Titus' censorship, it perhaps deserves to be included.
 3. *L. Antistius Rusticus*.
Inscr. in *J. R. S.* 1924, p. 180.
A laticlavus.
 4. *Q. Aurelius Pactumeius Fronto*, from Cirta in Numidia, *cos. suff.* 80.
CIL. viii. 7058 = Dessau 1001, and *Année épig.* 1914, no. 247. Described as the first consul from Africa.
 5. *Q. Aurelius Pactumeius Clemens*, from Cirta in Numidia.
CIL. viii. 7057.
 6. *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus*, on whom see on c. 13
CIL. ix. 5533 = Dessau 1011.
Adlected first *inter tribunicios*, later *inter praetorios*.
 7. *C. Caristianus Fronto*, from Antioch in Pisidia.
Inscr. in *J. R. S.* 1913, p. 260 = Dessau 9485.
An *eques*, prefect of an *ala* of Bosporani.
Adlected first *inter tribunicios*, then *promotus inter praetorios*.
No emperor's name, but obviously by Vespasian.
 8. *C. Fulvius Lupus Servilianus*, from Nîmes.
CIL. xii. 3166.
An *eques*, prefect of the *ala Longiniana*.
 9. . . . *tilius Lo . . . us*.
CIL. iii. 335.
An *eques*, prefect of the III cohort of *sagittarii*.
 10. *L. Baebius Avitus*.
CIL. vi. 1359 = Dessau 1378.
An *eques*, procurator of Lusitania.
[He is described merely as *adlectus inter praetorios*, without emperor's name: Gsell therefore suggested (*L'Empereur Domitien*, p. 72) that he was adlected by Domitian; but the inscription was apparently cut during Vespasian's lifetime.]
- Possibly also
11. *C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus*, from Pergamum, *cos. suff.* 93, *cos. II ord.* 105.
Numerous inscriptions relate to him, but none mention any offices held before he became *legatus pro praetore* of Pontus

and Bithynia; it seems therefore plausible to suppose that he was adlected *inter praetorios* by Vespasian (see Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, no. 114, p. 172 sq.). If so, he was one of those adlected privately in 69, for he was already an Arval Brother in 72 (Henzen, p. xcvi).

12. *Baebius Massa*, the famous *delator*.

Procurator of Africa in 70 (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 50), proconsul of Baetica before 93 (*ib. Agric.* 45): clearly therefore he was adlected by one of the Flavian emperors, and this would no doubt be *inter praetorios*, as he was a distinguished *eques*.

Mention may also be made of

13. *Minicius Macrinus*, described by Pliny as *equestris ordinis princeps, quia nihil altius voluit: adlectus enim a divo Vespasiano inter praetorios honestam quietem huic nostrae ambitioni dicam an dignitati constantissime praetulit* (Ep. 1. 14), i.e. he was adlected, but refused the honour.

B. *Inter aedilicios*.

14. *Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus*, from Ephesus, *cos. suff.* 92. Dessau 8971; see Cumont, *Acad. Belg. Bull. cl. d. lettr.* 1905, p. 197 sq.; Ritterling, *Oest. Jahresh.* 1907, p. 299 sq.; Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, x. 544 sq.

An *eques*, tribune of the III Cyrenaica legion. Since the inscription merely says *adlecto inter aedilicios ab divo Vespasiano*, with no mention of Titus nor of the censorial function, it seems plausible to assume that he was one of those adlected privately by Vespasian in 69: this would be a reward for services rendered as tribune of a legion then stationed at Alexandria.

C. *Inter tribunicios*.

C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus = no. 6.

C. Caristanius Fronto = no. 7.

15. — (name unknown), from Tarragona.

CIL. ii. 4130.

D. *In gradum incertum*.

16. *L. Plotius Grypus*, *cos. suff.* 88.

By private action of Vespasian in 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 52). Praetor in 70 (*ib.* 4. 39): adlected therefore *inter aedilicios* or *inter tribunicios*.

17. *L. Antonius Saturninus*, the rebel of 89.

Ἀντώνιος Σατορνίνος . . . παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐνεγράφη. Aelian *fr.* 112.

It may be noted that Rutilius Gallicus (Q. Iulius Cordinus C. Rutilius Gallicus) was previously thought to have been adlected

by Vespasian on the grounds that the sketch of his career given by Statius (*Silv.* 1. 4) suggests that he was originally in the equestrian service, and does not allude to any senatorial office held by him before the praetorship. But the inscription found at Ephesus in 1913 (Dessau 9499) now shows clearly that he went through the whole of the senatorial *cursus*.

As regards the equestrian order, there is much less evidence for its personnel at this time. We know of two men made *equites* by Vespasian,—Hormus, one of his freedmen (*Tac. Hist.* 3. 12; 4. 39), and Claudius, the imperial secretary *a rationibus* (*Stat. Silv.* 3. 3. 143). But these are bad examples; they rather typify the sort of men, powerful dependents, that previous emperors would have equestrianized, than the *honestissimi* whom Vespasian desired to introduce.

atque uti notum esset... fasque esse. Vespasian meant that the two orders differed in rank rather than in privilege. This was one of the grievances of the senators: what the senatorial order had lost in prestige under the empire the equestrian order had gained, and it was beginning to be found that the position of *eques*, as compared with the position of senator, was more lucrative, more important in its duties, more secure under emperors like Nero or Domitian, and only to a small extent less honourable. Thus we find men preferring an equestrian to a senatorial career; the sentiments of Minicius Macrinus have been quoted above (no. 13 of the *adlecti in senatum*): cf. those of Annaeus Mela (*Tac. Ann.* 16. 17) and Cornelius Fuscus (*ib. Hist.* 2. 86). The policy of *adlectio* was conceived partly no doubt to make the senatorial service more agreeable; cf. also the shortening in the term of the consulships, designed partly to give more senators the chance of attaining this supreme honour.

CHAPTER X

This pressure of cases before the civil courts was one of the natural results of the wars of 69: the prolonged cessation of justice caused by them had resulted in the postponement and accumulation of normal cases, and the volume of these was swelled by the abnormal disputes as to ownership of property inevitable after the successive confiscations and grants of rival commanders. Vespasian's commissioners were appointed (1) to adjudicate these ownership-of-property disputes, (2) to review the list of cases up before the *centumviri* and to deal themselves with those which appeared unnecessary or easy of settlement. Since the courts of the *centumviri* provided now the chief opportunity for ambitious advocates to display their talents, their business was often unduly protracted by forensic eloquence; Pliny shows himself an avowed supporter of their lengthy and leisurely procedure (*Ep.* 1. 20; 6. 2).

CHAPTER XI

auctor senatui . . . haberetur. This regulation formed part of the law called by the lawyers the *SC Claudianum*, and was really only a revival of a measure carried through the Senate by Claudius in 52, of which Pallas was the *repertor*: it contained a proviso that if the slave's master had consented to the marriage, the woman should remain free (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 53). See Buckland, *Text-book of Roman Law*, p. 71.

neve filiorum familiarum . . . mortem. This also revived or strengthened a measure of Claudius (the *SC Macedonianum*, so called apparently after a notorious usurer). The restrictions on such practices imposed by Claudius in 47 (Tac. *Ann.* 11. 13) are unknown, but clearly his intention was to restrain the *saevitia* of the moneylenders, Vespasian's rather to control the *luxuria* of the young men. See on its provisions Buckland, *op. cit.*, p. 462 sq.

CHAPTER XII

civilis: i.e. he behaved as a citizen among citizens, οὐχ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ ἀλλ' ὡς ἰδιώτης, in Dio's phrase (66. 10). Augustus was of course the paragon of *civilitas* (Suet. *Aug.* 51 sq.), and this was the chief virtue that the Roman public demanded in its emperor; the principle seemed to be that as long as the emperor behaved like an ordinary citizen, the people were content to believe that he *was* nothing more. One can, however, detect a certain difference between the Augustan and the Flavian virtue: Augustus' behaviour is clearly dictated by his whole constitutional policy, while Vespasian's attitude seems rather that of the affable and benevolent autocrat, too good-natured to be haughty, and conscious, moreover, that regal display would contrast ludicrously with his former plebeian position (μνήμη τῆς προτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης, Dio *loc. cit.*); that he *could* act despotically is shown by his treatment of the Alexandrians (*ib.* 66. 8).

ad conditores . . . Herculis. For legends of the connexion between Hercules and Reate cf. Varro, *de lingua Latina* 5. 53.

triumphi die: i.e. the triumph over the Jews in 71: see note on c. 8.

ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem . . . There is clearly an hiatus after these words in the text, but the meaning of the passage must be that Vespasian did not assume the *tribunicia potestas* at once; the obvious way therefore to fill the gap is to suppose that *statim* has fallen out after *pote-statem*. What exactly Suetonius means is doubtful: the *tribunicia potestas* must have been conferred on Vespasian as a consequence of the *Senatusconsultum* of 22nd December 69 (for the date see Weynand in Pauly-

Wissowa, vi. 2640-1) with all his other imperial privileges (*senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit*, Tac. *Hist.* 4. 3, cf. *decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores*, *ib.* 1. 47), and it occurs among his titles on the diploma of 7th March 70 (*CIL.* iii, p. 849 = Dessau 1989). Mommsen (*Droit public*, v, p. 151) explains the phrase as a reference to the interval between the *Senatusconsultum* which arranged that the *Lex* should be drawn up and the *comitia tribuniciae potestatis* which passed the *Lex*,—i. e. the still partially extant *Lex de Imperio*,—an interval that varied in length from 12 to 53 days; on this interpretation Suetonius would merely mean that Vespasian was content to wait rather longer than some emperors for the *comitia* (we have no record when these were held). It seems strange, however, that if Suetonius meant all this he did not say so, and perhaps we need only suppose that he had forgotten either (1) that it was the Senate which initiated the conferring of the *tribunicia potestas*, or (2) that the Senate was controlled by Vitellius for the first months of Vespasian's *imperium*, and so assumed that Vespasian himself chose not to receive the *tribunicia potestas* until December. That Suetonius always thought of Vespasian's reign as beginning on 1st July is shown by his very next sentence, where he records an imperial act as happening *manente adhuc bello civili*. The years of Vespasian's *tribunicia potestas* are reckoned from this date, i. e. he is *trib. pot. II* on 1st July 70, and so on. This arrangement of Vespasian's, dating his reign from his salutation by the troops, is another example of his indifference to forms: we may contrast the *dies imperii* of the similarly-situated Vitellius, fixed at 19th April, the date on which he was recognized by the Senate (Henzen, p. xciv).

patris patriae . . . recepit. It was not customary for emperors to assume this title immediately (Appian, *B. C.* 2. 7; see Mommsen, *Droit public*, v, p. 40). Vespasian does not bear the title on the diploma of 7th March 70 (*CIL.* iii, p. 849 = Dessau 1989), but a coin of Ephesus (Cohen, *Vespasien*, p. 373) gives him it while still in the first year of his *tribunicia potestas*, i. e. before 1st July 70.

consuetudinem . . . omiserat. So Dio (60. 3; 66. 10). It was Claudius, *quamquam iactator civilitatis*, who instituted this practice (Suet. *Claud.* 35).

CHAPTER XIII

Amicorum libertatem . . . tulit. Cf. for Vespasian's toleration of *παρρησία* Dio 66. 11. It may be observed that Suetonius first summarizes, as so often, the purport of the chapter, then gives one example each of the *amicus*, the *causidicus*, and the *philosophus*.

Licinium Mucianum. On him see note on c. 6. His character and his relations with Titus are hinted at by Tacitus (*Hist.* 1. 10;

2. 5). The meaning of Vespasian's remark is obvious ; it is noteworthy that he was the only one of Suetonius' twelve Caesars (except Claudius) who would have been entitled to make it.

Salvium Liberalem. C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus, four times *quinquennalis* at Urbs Salvia in Picenum, was adlected into the Senate, first *inter tribunicios*, later *inter praetorios*, by Vespasian and Titus during their censorship (*CIL.* ix. 5533 = Dessau 1011). He had a distinguished senatorial career, being probably *iuridicus* of Britain under Vespasian and Titus, *consul suffectus* and proconsul of Macedonia under Domitian. Later in Domitian's reign he was accused of *maiestas* (Plin. *Ep.* 3. 9), and apparently banished: his name does not appear in the Acts of the Arval Brothers, of whom he was one, between 87 and 101 (Henzen, cxix and cxxxix). Under Trajan he was certainly again in Rome, but we find him refusing the proconsulate of Asia (which had been allotted to him), probably on account of his old age (*tit. cit.*). His eloquence as a lawyer is twice alluded to by Pliny (*Ep.* 2. 11 ; 3. 9).

Hipparchus. This may possibly be Ti. Claudius Hipparchus, the grandfather of Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes the Athenian millionaire, of whom Philostratus says (*Soph.* 2. 1): ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάππος αὐτοῦ Ἰππαρχος ἐδημέυθη τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τυραννικαῖς αἰτίας, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆγον, ὁ δ' αὐτοκράτωρ οὐκ ἡγνόησεν. An inscription (*CIA.* iii. 38) mentions τὰ Ἰππάρχου χωρία τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φίσκου πραθέντα. The dates fit, and the explanation of this retort, that Hipparchus' wealth ought not to be a reason for his accusation or condemnation, fits with Philostratus' story also. But the identification is of course only a conjecture.

Demetrium. The most famous of the Cynic philosophers of the time: Seneca was his friend and admirer, and Paetus Thrasea chose to converse with him in his last hours. In 70 he defended the *delator* P. Egnatius Celer, a proceeding which Tacitus stigmatizes as disgraceful (*Hist.* 4. 40). Soon after 71, according to the chronology of Dio, a general expulsion of philosophers from Italy on the grounds of captious opposition was decided upon at the instigation of Mucianus: two, Hostilianus and Demetrium, suffered *relegatio in insulam*. See Dio (66. 13), who makes Vespasian send a message to Demetrium: σὺ μὲν πάντα ποιεῖς ἵνα σε ἀποκτείνω, ἐγὼ δὲ κύνα ὑλακτοῦντα οὐ φορέω.

CHAPTER XIV

Vitelli hostis sui filiam. Suetonius (*Vit.* 6) mentions only one daughter of the emperor Vitellius, by his second wife Galeria Fundana ; her image appears with those of her father and brother on coins (see Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i, e. g. Plate 61, no. 4). She was married early in 69

to Valerius Asiaticus, governor of Gallia Belgica, and *consul designatus* at the beginning of 70 (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 59; 4. 4). This man then had presumably died, a conclusion which supports his identification with the D. Valerius(?) Asiaticus of *CIL.* vi. 1528, who died while *consul designatus*. *Splendidissime* probably means that the husband provided by Vespasian was a senator; at any rate (pseudo) Aurelius Victor understood it so (*splendidissimo coniungeret viro*, *Epit.* 9. 2).

As to Vitellius' other relations, his young son Germanicus was put to death by Mucianus (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 80), but two *adfines*, L. Tampius Flavianus (*ib.* 3. 4) and C. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus¹ (*ib.* 4. 49), both became consuls under Vespasian. Vespasian owed a debt of gratitude to Vitellius for some service rendered when L. Vitellius was censor (or consul) with Claudius (*Vitellii cliens*, *cum Vitellius collega Claudio foret*, Tac. *Hist.* 3. 66 — it is not quite clear whether *Vitellii* means the father or the son); what service is referred to is unknown.

instruxit: i. e. fitted a house out.

trepidum eum . . . eadem. On the intricacies of this story see note on c. 4: Dio's version (66. 11) has been cited there. The usher was apparently a freedman named Phoebus. *Morboviam* is an invented word signifying 'the land of disease': ἐς κόρακας is Dio's equivalent, and 'the fowle ill take thee' Philemon Holland's.

Mettium Pompusianum. This man is usually identified with the L. Pompusius Mettius of *CIL.* vi. 1495, *praefectus* of the *aerarium Saturni* from 77 to 80: the only difficulty about this identification is that these *praefecti* were commonly of praetorian rank, and our Mettius, as we see, was consul before the end of Vespasian's reign. I should prefer to suppose therefore that the two men were distinct, but that there was a close family connexion is obvious. Domitian was not so kind to Mettius' 'imperial horoscope': Mettius was first relegated to Corsica and afterwards killed by his orders (Suet. *Dom.* 10; Dio 67. 12), about the year 91.

spondens quandoque . . . futurum. Dio reports Vespasian's words, πάντως μου μνημονεύσει καὶ πάντως με ἀντιτίμησει (*loc. cit.*); meaning: if he *does* become emperor I shall have a claim to his gratitude.

CHAPTER XV

Non temere . . . decepto: i. e. no innocent person was put to death during the reign, with the exception of those executed (1) in Vespasian's absence (no doubt referring to the acts of Mucianus in the early part of 70, Tac. *Hist.* 4. 11; 4. 80), (2) without his knowledge (perhaps meaning the victims of Titus' zeal as *praefectus praetorio*, Suet. *Tit.* 6), or (3) at any rate against his

¹ Surely this man's *adfinitas* would be through Valerius Asiaticus.

will and by misleading him (this last reservation is rather obscure but probably refers to the story of the death of Helvidius Priscus—see below—, who would technically be regarded as *insons*).

Helvidio Prisco. The celebrated Stoic, husband of Paetus Thrasea's daughter Fannia: he was a native of Cluviae (a Samnite *municipium*) and the son of a *primipilaris* (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 5). Whether he is the same as the *legatus legionis* in 51, tribune in 56 (*ib. Ann.* 12. 49; 13. 28) seems doubtful; if he is, we can hardly accept the statement of Probus (schol. Juv. 5. 36) that Helvidius was quaestor under Nero. In 66 he suffered *relegatio* following the process against his father-in-law (Tac. *Ann.* 16. 33); he was recalled by Galba (*ib. Hist.* 4. 6), and became praetor in 70, in which capacity he officiated at the foundation ceremony of the Capitoline temple on 21st June (*ib.* 4. 53).

From the very beginning of Vespasian's reign we find him opposing official motions in the Senate: he objected to the congratulatory embassy to Vespasian being selected by lot, and proposed that it should be chosen by the magistrates on oath (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 6); he proposed that the question of curtailments in public expenditure should be left to the Senate, and not referred to the emperor (*ib.* 4. 9); &c. All this opposition seems rather for the sake of opposition; Helvidius was anxious to find traces of the autocrat in what Vespasian did, and was disappointed when there were none to find. Nevertheless, he was, like Paetus Thrasea, a great hero in the eyes of Tacitus and Pliny: Dio, however (66. 12. Exc. Vat. 273), has some very sensible remarks to make about the distinction between the two. 'Helvidius was Thrasea's son-in-law and affected to emulate him, but in fact behaved very differently. For although Thrasea did not love Nero, in whose time he lived, yet neither did he treat him insolently by word or deed, save in so far as not thinking it proper to make himself a partner in what was done by him. But Helvidius hated Vespasian, and could not leave him alone in private or in public; thus by his deeds he was courting death.' Τὴν τοῦ Θρασέου παρρησίαν οὐ σὺν καιρῷ μιμούμενος is Xiphilinus' summary of this estimate.

As to the date of Helvidius' death, we can only say that the chronology of Dio fixes it between 71 and 75. If we can believe Probus (*loc. cit.*), Helvidius had already been put on trial for his attacks on Vespasian but *praeter spem absolutus est*; he had also apparently been ejected from the Senate in 70 (στρατηγῶν τηλικαῦτα) for the same reason (Dio 66. 12. This account, however, parallels so exactly what had already happened to him under Vitellius—Tac. *Hist.* 2. 91—that one is inclined to suspect it).

sine honore ac mentione ulla: i.e. there were no complimentary remarks or prayers for the emperor's welfare, such as were customary in documents issued by magistrates.

paene in ordinem redactus: i.e. 'degraded', used of magi-

strates whose authority was insulted (cf. Suet. *Claud.* 38). Apparently the metaphor was a military one.

relegatum. Pliny calls it *exsilium* (*Fannia bis maritum secuta in exsilium est*, *Ep.* 7. 19), but the previous banishment under Nero had certainly been *relegatio* (*Tac. Ann.* 16. 35), so that we may imagine Pliny to be speaking loosely (as also Tacitus, *Hist.* 1. 3, *secutae maritos in exsilia coniuges*, obviously referring to Fannia). The distinction is that *relegatio* did not imply loss of civil rights, and was thus a more lenient form of banishment. Cf. Ovid's words (*Trist.* 5. 11. 21):

*Ipse relegati, non exsulis, utitur in me
nomine.*

ceterum neque caede . . . ingemuit. There is an hiatus in the MSS. which must be filled by some such words as *laetatus est et*. Ramsay supposes (*The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 257) that Suetonius in the second half of the sentence is referring to the punishment of Christians (cf. the use of the word *supplicia* about them in *Ner.* 16): 'We have here indubitably a reference to some class of individuals, whose punishment Vespasian felt himself compelled to accept while he regretted it; for it is inconceivable that Vespasian, a Roman, a soldier of long experience in the bloody wars of Britain and Judaea, wept and groaned at every 'merited' execution.' This no doubt is true, but we are told by Dio (66. 12) in very similar words, *συνεχύθη τε ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ δακρύσας ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐξῆλθε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι "ἐμὲ μὲν υἱὸς διαδέξεται, ἢ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος."* In the text of Xiphilinus, as we have it, these words follow the story of the ejection of Helvidius Priscus from the Senate (see above), but an hiatus has long been suspected on account of the extreme inapplicability of Vespasian's remark to that occasion (Suetonius puts it *post adsiduas in se coniurationes*; see note on c. 25), and this suspicion the excerpt from Dio in Petrus Patricius (*exc. Vat.* 105) seems to confirm. Now if we may suppose, to make Dio's context for the remark agree with Suetonius', that some reference to a conspiracy and its punishment has dropped out of the text of Xiphilinus, it would appear reasonable to assume that the phrase of Suetonius before us rather refers to the same occasion, i. e. that it was conspirators, of however obvious guilt, that Vespasian punished reluctantly and with tears. (Cf. also for his *weeping* Dio 66. 16, in connexion with the execution of Iulius Sabinus, the Gallic rebel, and his wife.)

CHAPTER XVI

§ 1. **pecuniae cupiditas.** Chapters 16 to 19 really read together, on this plan: 'Vespasian made every effort to raise money; some say he was naturally avaricious, but others reply that

he was forced to be extortionate by the financial needs of the State, and cite his acts of generosity as proof of his personal indifference to money. All the same, his reputation as a miser persisted.' Avarice is of course the stock charge against Vespasian; it is the only respect in which he fell short of the republican ideal of Tacitus—*prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par* (*Hist.* 2. 5). Suetonius' conclusions on the subject seem to be sound enough; that the condition of Roman finances made it imperative for Vespasian to raise money by every means in his power, and that at heart he was a generous man, but that what could fairly be objected to was the fact that some of his methods were ignoble in the extreme, and more fitted to a moneylender than to an emperor.

omissa sub Galba vectigalia revocasse. Galba had a reputation for parsimony second only to Vespasian (*Suet. Galb.* 12), but we have evidence to show that he allowed some tribute-reduction to Spain and Gaul, the provinces that had made him emperor. The words of Tacitus, *Galliae . . . obligatae . . . in posterum tributii levamento* (*Hist.* 1. 8), are illustrated by Gallic and Spanish coin-issues of Galba with the legend *Quadragensuma remissa* (probably meaning the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *portorium* tax; see Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i, e.g. Plate 58, no. 7): no doubt this was one of the taxes that Vespasian reimposed. We know, however, of one case where he allowed a benefit granted by previous emperors to stand: in the Letter to the Vanacinians (Corsica) of 4th October 78 (?) (*CIL.* x. 8038), he writes: *Beneficia tributa vobis ab divo Augusto post septimum consulatum, quae in tempora Galbae retinuistis, confirmo.*

nova et gravia . . . duplicasse. Similarly Dio (66. 8), speaking of Vespasian at Alexandria: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τέλη τὰ μὲν τινα ἐκλειμμένα ἀνεγέωσατο, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόμενα προσεπηύξησε, καὶνὰ τε ἕτερα προσκατέστησατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ὑπηκόῳ τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. Very little information is preserved about new taxes imposed by Vespasian; we know, however, of the *vectigal urinae* (see on c. 23). As for fresh tributes levied in the provinces, there is the *fiscus Iudaicus*, which was merely the appropriation to the Capitoline temple of the tax paid previously by all Jews to the temple at Jerusalem (*Dio* 66. 7; *Jos. B.I.* 7. 6. 6), and hardly comes under this category. To Vespasian's reign also have been dated the *fiscus Asiaticus* and the *fiscus Alexandrinus*, about which we know for certain only that they were administered from Rome by imperial freedmen. Probably they were both taxes collected by a particular levy and paid into a special fund at Rome, and the *fiscus Alexandrinus* may plausibly be connected with the arrangements for the corn-supply from Egypt (*Tac. Hist.* 4. 52; see Hirschfeld, *Kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten*², pp. 71 sq. and 370 sq.).

§ 2. *ne candidatis quidem . . . cunctatus est.* Dio alludes to this practice (66. 14) as carried on through the agency of Vespasian's mistress Caenis. He adds that it resulted in leniency to the guilty, but never in injustice to the innocent, ἀπέκτεινε μὲν γὰρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς χρημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδένα, ἔσωσε δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν διδόντων.

creditur etiam . . . condemnaret. It is hard to believe this story, which Suetonius qualifies with *creditur*. In our scanty records of Vespasian's reign there is only one possible case of a provincial officer being accused of extortion,—C. Iulius Bassus, apparently as quaestor of Bithynia, and *he* was acquitted (Plin. *Ep.* 4. 9).

§ 3. *negata sibi gratuita libertate.* For a slave might buy his freedom out of money saved from his *peculium*, if his master was willing to sell (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14. 42, suggested reason for assassination of Pedanius Secundus).

vulpem pilum mutare, non mores. We can understand what was meant by these accusations against Vespasian of introducing into public life the shadier methods of enrichment, when we remember that he had been convicted while a *privatus* of obtaining the *latus clavus* for a young man, and exacting a reward for his services (c. 4).

manubias et rapinas. One of Vespasian's most oppressive measures was his appropriation and sale of *subseciva*, pieces of land left unassigned on the foundation of a colony and subsequently occupied by squatters, some of whom had enjoyed a tenure, illegal though it undoubtedly was, for generations. But this ancient application of *nullum tempus occurrit Regi* proved so exceptionally unpopular—deputations from all parts of Italy, we are told, inveighed against it—that Vespasian was compelled to give up this method of enriching the *fiscus*, though confiscations already made were not annulled (Frontinus *de contr. agr.* in *Gromatici veteres*, i, p. 54).

summa aerarii . . . posset. The immense sum named, 40,000,000,000 HS., shows that there was ample justification for Vespasian's alarm and remedial methods. It is interesting to find that arrangements were made to raise a State loan of 60,000,000 HS. from private investors, but the system was strange to Roman finance and was abandoned (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 47).

CHAPTER XVII

censum senatorium. This, the preliminary qualification for a senatorial career, had been fixed by Augustus at 1,000,000 HS. (Dio 54. 17). Senators unable to make up this sum, however, were often helped by the emperor out of his private purse (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 75).

plurimas per totum orbem . . . in melius. We have records of his activities, mostly as a restorer of temples, for example, in Sabinum (*aedem Victoriae vetustate dilapsam sua impensa restituit*, *CIL.* xiv. 3485 = Dessau 3813), at Herculaneum (*templum Matris deum terrae motu conlapsum restituit*, *CIL.* x. 1406 = Dessau 250), at Capua (*fines agrorum dicatorum Dianae Tifatinae a Cornelio Sulla ex forma divi Aug(usti) restituit*, *CIL.* x. 3828 = Dessau 251), and elsewhere.

ingenia et artes vel maxime fovit. For, in spite of his political measures against philosophers, Vespasian was a sincere patron of art and learning. Before his elevation he had been on terms of intimacy with Paetus Thrasea and Barea Soranus (*Tac. Hist.* 4. 7); Philostratus makes him say, in conversation with Apollonius, ἀκλείστους θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι (*Apoll.* 5. 31); the two most famous orators of the time, T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus and Q. Vibius Crispus, are called *principes in Caesaris amicitia* (*Tac. Dial.* 8), and the proconsulships held by them (Asia and Africa) were in the nature of special commissions (see McElderry in *J. R. S.* 1913, p. 116 sq.); the elder Pliny also was a friend of Vespasian's.

CHAPTER XVIII

primus e fisco . . . constituit. On the importance of this innovation see Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 148. Quintilian was among the first subsidized, *Quintilianus ex Hispania Calagurritanus primus Romae publicam scholam et salarium e fisco accepit et claruit* (*Chron. Jer. ann. Abr.* 2104 = A. D. 87-8—the date is presumably Quintilian's *floruit*).

praestantis poetas. Among whom was Saleius Bassus, to whom Vespasian gave 500,000 HS. (*Tac. Dial.* 9). But Vespasian, even as compared with Domitian, was miserably off for poetic interpretation of his policy; even the epics of Valerius Flaccus and Silius Italicus, in which he is conventionally eulogized (*Val. Flacc.* 1. 7-9; *Sil. Ital.* 3. 594-602) were not published until after the end of the reign.

Coae Veneris. The MSS. read *coevenerit* or *coemerit*; this correction, proposed by Graevius, is based on a passage of Pliny's *Natural History* (36. 27), which records that a famous statue of Venus of unknown workmanship was set up by Vespasian in his newly-built Temple of Peace (see on c. 9).

Colossi. This refers to the statue of Nero, 120 feet high, which that emperor had placed in the vestibule of his Golden House, the work of Zenodorus. The restoration consisted in changing the head from a portrait of Nero to one of the Sun, and it was then (in 75) set up on the Via Sacra (*Plin. N. H.* 34. 45; *Suet. Ner.* 31; *Dio* 66. 15).

CHAPTER XIX

§ 1. **Marcelliani theatri.** This was the theatre built by Augustus in honour of his nephew and son-in-law Marcellus, who had been regarded as his heir, but died prematurely in 23 B.C. (Suet. *Aug.* 29; Dio 53. 30).

acroamata. The word is applied either to public entertainments, as here, or to private entertainments, such as were given by Trajan to amuse his guests at dinner (Plin. *Ep.* 6. 31). The point here is clearly that they had been given up for reasons of economy, and that Vespasian showed his generosity by reviving them.

Appellari tragoedo. If this is really his name we know nothing more about him. Bücheler has proposed that the name should read *Apellae*, and the *tragoedus* be identified with Apelles, a celebrated tragic actor in the reign of the emperor Gaius (Suet. *Cal.* 33; Dio 59. 5; Petr. 64). This, however, would extend Apelles' life to a somewhat unusual length, and the words of Plocamus in Petronius,—*Quando parem habui nisi unum Apelletem?*—seem to imply that this Apelles was dead at the time when the *Satyricon* was written (before 66).

Terpno: famous as a lyre-player under Nero (*citharoedum vigentem tunc praeter alios*, Suet. *Ner.* 20; cf. Dio 63. 8).

Diodoro: famous also under Nero (Dio 63. 8).

convivabatur . . . recta: i. e. *recta cena*, that is, he entertained his guests to a formal banquet, instead of giving them *sportulae*, baskets of food to take away, as Nero had done (Suet. *Ner.* 16). Domitian copied his father's practice (*ib. Dom.* 7); cf. for the distinction Martial 8. 50 (addressing Domitian):

*grandia pollicitus quanto maiora dedisti!
promissa est nobis sportula, recta data est.*

Saturnalibus. The *Saturnalia* (17th December) was marked by the interchange of gifts among men: the fourteenth book of Martial, labelled *Apophoreta*, is a series of mottoes written to accompany gifts on this occasion.

per Kal. Mart.: i. e. on the occasion of the *Matronalia*, the corresponding feast for married women, on which they similarly received gifts. Cf. Martial 5. 84:

*Sane sic abeat meus December:
scis certe, puto, vestra iam venire
Saturnalia, Martias Kalendas;
tunc reddam tibi, Galla, quod dedisti.*

§ 2. **Alexandrini Cybiosacten . . . sordium.** See Dio (66. 8) for further particulars of Vespasian's unpopularity at Alexandria during his residence there. The original *Cybiosactes* (MSS. here give *Cybiotanten* and must be corrected from Strabo) was a *soi-*

disant Seleucid, whom Berenice, daughter and successor to Ptolemy XIII Auletes, had married and associated with her on the throne (55 B. C.); a few days later, however, she had him murdered, οὐ φέρουσα τὸ βάνανσον καὶ τὸ ἀνελεύθερον (Strabo 17. 796; see also Dio 39. 57). Κυβισσάκτης seems to mean 'dealer in salt fish'. Another similar taunt against Vespasian was ἐξ ὀβολοῦς προσαίρεις (Dio 66. 8. One would imagine this refers to the *fiscus Alexandrinus*, on which see on c. 16).

Favor archimimus. Nothing else specifically is known of this pantomime actor, but the name occurs in lists of troops of performers (*CIL.* xiv. 2408 and similar inscriptions).

centum sibi sestertia . . . proicerent: i. e. you are spending a vast sum on the paraphernalia of burial: *give* me 100,000 HS. and you can do what you like with my body.

CHAPTER XX

Statura fuit quadrata . . . nitentis. This description is well borne out by the extant portraits in statues and coins (see Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, ii. 2, p. 27. Cf. especially the bust at the Villa Albani, Taf. ix, for the *vultus veluti nitentis*).

valetudine prosperrima usus est: though we learn from Dio that he was liable to attacks of gout (τῇ ποδάγρα τῇ συνήθει, 66. 17).

CHAPTER XXI

Ordinem vitae. See also Dio (66. 10) for Vespasian's simple mode of life. Tacitus regards Vespasian as the chief agent (apart from what he considers *merely* reaction) in the revolt against luxury, the effects of which were clearly observable in his own time: *sed praecipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque* (*Ann.* 3. 55).

amicos admittebat. Cf., from the standpoint of one of these *amici*, the account of the elder Pliny's mode of life given by his nephew: *ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem (nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur)* (*Plin. Ep.* 3. 5).

defunctae Caenidis. On Caenis see note on c. 3. Her death is recorded by Dio (66. 14), and took place before 75 according to his chronology.

secreto: i. e. the part of the day passed in solitude.

CHAPTER XXII

comissimus. *Comitas* was the corresponding virtue in intercourse with friends to *civilitas* in intercourse with citizens (see on c. 12). Cf. Tacitus (Aper refers to Vespasian as *patientissimus*

veri, *Dial.* 8) and Dio (τό τε σύμπαν τῇ μὲν προνοίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομιζέτο, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰλλα πάντα κοινὸς καὶ ἰσοδιαίτος σφισιν ἦν, 66. 11).

praetextatis verbis. *praetextatus* = clad in the *toga praetexta*, the garment worn by free-born children up to the age of sixteen. In its metaphorical sense, the word undoubtedly refers to obscene language, and the implication may be either (1) *veiled* words, or (2) expressions such as boys use.

Mestrium Florum. L. Mestrius Florus, proconsul of Asia under Domitian in 83-4 (see Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, no. 102, p. 155; the date is based on the fact that Domitian assumed the title Germanicus during his proconsulship); he was apparently consul before 69 (Plut. *Oth.* 14). He was a friend of Plutarch's, who, curiously enough, preserves another example of his pedantry (*Quaest. conv.* 7. 4): at a dinner-party we find him (φιλάρχαιος ὃν ὁ Φλῶπος) lamenting that the old practice of leaving some food on the dinner-table uneaten until the meal was cleared away had been given up by modern society.

plaustra . . . plostra. The common pronunciation of the word was thus *plostra*, and the phonetic form is even found in literature in Cato and Varro; similarly the plebeian *gens* spelt itself phonetically *Clodia*.

dispensatore: the official of the imperial household who kept the accounts of the emperor's private purse (cf. Suet. *Galb.* 12).

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 1. *improbisusque nato.* *Sensu obsceno.* The quotation is from the description of Ajax, *Iliad* 7. 213.

Cerylo liberto. Very probably this is the Cerylus of Martial's epigram (1. 67):

*'Liber homo es nimium,' dicis mihi, Ceryle, semper.
In te qui dicit, Ceryle, liber homo est.*

The second line proposed by Ed. Wagner, *in te quis dicit, Ceryle, 'liber homo es'?* (i.e. 'I am too free, you say: well, no one could say that of you!'), would make the identification with this freedman almost certain. The point of Suetonius' story is that, in Roman law, the master was the heir of his childless freedmen; the estate of Cerylus (who must have been an imperial freedman) would thus revert on his death to Vespasian. Cerylus, to evade the law, had changed his name to Laches and was masquerading as a citizen of free status, and Vespasian's quotation was to show that he had detected the trick, and that the man on his death would be treated as Cerylus, not as Laches.

The words come from the *Θεοφορουμένη* of Menander (quoted at

length in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 106. 8, *fr.* 223 Kock), from a passage dealing with reincarnation :

Εἴ τις προσελθὼν μοι θεῶν λέγοι "Κράτων,
ἐπ' αὖν ἀποθάνης, αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσει"
ἔσει δ' ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ, κτλ."

§ 2. *ordinavit* : i. e. appointed to the office.

mulionem in itinere . . . partem. Vespasian would know all about mules, from his former occupation as trader therein (c. 4).

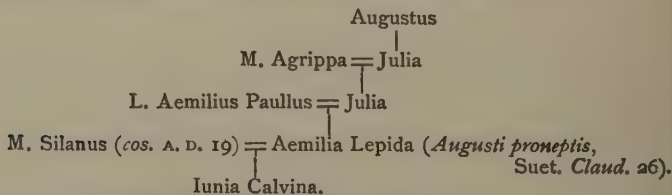
§ 3. *urinae vectigal*. It is not clear how this tax was collected (see Marquardt, *L' Organisation financière chez les Romains*, p. 356) : the phrase of Juvenal, *conducunt foricas* (3. 38), indicates that it was farmed out. Suetonius rather labours the story ; Dio gives it more crisply (66. 14)—he says nothing after the "ἰδοῦ, τέκνον, εἴ τι ὄζουσιν".

nuntiantis legatos . . . dicens. This story also is in Dio (66. 14) : he calls the statue an ἀνδριάντα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων, i. e. of 1,000,000 HS.

§ 4. *Mausoleum* : = τὸ μνημεῖον τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου (Dio 66. 17), *tumulus Caesarum* (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 9), the tomb for the imperial family, built by Augustus in 28 B.C. This same prodigy heralded the demise of Nero (Suet. *Ner.* 46).

stella crinita : i. e. a comet.

Iuniam Calvinam. She was the great-great-granddaughter of Augustus, the sister of that M. Iunius Silanus whom Gaius called the *pecus aurea* (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 1). The following table shows her descent from Augustus (entirely on the female side) :



She was married in 48 or shortly before to L. Vitellius, younger brother of the future emperor (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 4), but in 49 was relegated (*ib.* 12. 8) in consequence of an accusation against her of incest with her brother Lucius, the prospective son-in-law of Claudius, and therefore an obstacle to Agrippina's dynastic schemes ; on this pretext his betrothal to Octavia was annulled, and no doubt Calvina's marriage also, for in 69 we find L. Vitellius married to Triaria (*ib. Hist.* 2. 63). Calvina's *relegatio* was repealed by Nero in 59 as a political measure against his mother's memory (*ib. Ann.* 14. 12). This is the lady whom Racine (rather absurdly) made the heroine of his *Britannicus*.

Parthorum regem qui capillatus esset. This would be the successor to the Vologaesius of c. 6, who died before June 78. The point of the story is that Vespasian himself was bald ("ἐκείνος μὲν γὰρ κομᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ φαλακρός εἰμι", Dio 66. 17).

puto deus fio. This, of course, in reference to his imminent apotheosis (see also Dio 66. 17). As a matter of fact he was deified immediately after his death, as many inscriptions of the year 79 testify (e.g. *CIL.* iii. 6732, x. 6812). A temple to *Divus Vespasianus* was erected before 87 (*Acta Arv.*, Henzen, p. cxvii), and his worship was celebrated therein, entrusted to the charge of a college of fifteen members, the *Sodales Flaviales*, called also *Titiales* after the death and deification of Titus.

That Vespasian, in spite of his dislike for fictitious honours, was well aware of the political value of the cult of the Divine Emperor, is shown by the establishment during his reign of *concilia* for Caesar-worship, not only in the newly-acquired *Agri Decumates* at Arae Flaviae, but in some of the less backward provinces that previous emperors had left untouched:

Africa. Later *sacerdotes* give their order in the lists, and the first *sacerdos* can thus be dated approximately to 71-73 (see McElderry in *J. R. S.* 1913, p. 122).

Baetica. The *flamen Augustalis in Baetica primus* is mentioned in an inscription (*CIL.* ii. 3271): from the other offices this man held we can date his *flamonium* to early in Vespasian's reign. The genuineness of the inscription has, however, been questioned (see McElderry in *J. R. S.* 1918, p. 82).

Gallia Narbonensis. An inscription of Q. Trebellius Rufus (*CIA.* iii. 623-4) calls him ἀρχιερεὺς πρῶτος ἐπαρχείας τῆς ἐκ Ναββώνος. This man was later archon at Athens, an office that can be dated to Domitian's reign (see Graindor, *Rev. Arch.* July 1917, p. 17 sq.): his *sacerdotium* may then plausibly be placed under Vespasian. This, of course, means that the famous inscription dealing with the *concilium provinciae Narbonensis* (*CIL.* xii. 6038 = Dessau 6964), supposed to be Augustan, must be assigned to the reign of Vespasian.

On the revival of the cult of *Divus Claudius* see note on c. 9.

CHAPTER XXIV

Consulatu suo nono. A.D. 79: not necessarily during the actual term of his consulship, however (for this see on c. 8).

motiunculis levibus (= πυρετοῖς, Dio 66. 17): i. e. a slight attack of fever.

Cutillas. Aquae Cutiliae, a source of natural mineral waters on the Via Salaria between Reate (*Rieti*) and Interocrea (*Antrodoco*), very near to Vespasian's birthplace. The waters were probably

good for his gout. One year, at any rate, he was there as late as November :

Ὑδατὰ σοὶ Κοτίλεια γενέθλιον ἡμᾶρ ὀρώντι,
Καῖσαρ, ἐπιβλύζοι σωρὸν ἀκεστορίης,
ὄφρα σε κόσμος ἅπας πάππον . . . αὐγάζηται,
ὥς πατέρα τρισσῆς εἴσιδεν εὐτοκίης.

(Epigram of Leonidas of Alexandria, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 349. Probably the occasion was the birth of Domitian's son in 73—see Suet. *Dom.* 3. and J. Janssen, *ad. loc.*)

frigidae aquae usu. Cf. for their effect Pliny (*N. H.* 31. 10) : *Cutilliae in Sabinis gelidissimae suctu quodam corpora invadunt, ut prope morsus videri possit.*

imperatorem ait stantem mori oportere. Similarly Dio (66. 17). The remark was afterwards plagiarized by Turbo, Hadrian's *praefectus praetorio* (Dio 69. 18).

extinctus est VIII. Kal. Iul. . . . septimum : i.e. on 23rd June, 79. He was born on 17th November, A.D. 9. (c. 2), so that Suetonius' 69 years 7 months 7 days for the length of his life is a correct reckoning (*septimum* to be taken with *ensem* as well as with *diem*), since the Romans included both terminal dates in their calculations. But there is some dispute as to the date of his death, owing to the conflicting statements of Dio, who says (66. 17), *ἔζησε δὲ ἔτη ἑννέα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ*, to which Zonaras adds, *καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ*. This is obviously wrong, but it has been suggested that the original text of Dio read, *καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ*, i.e. date of death 25th June, making Dio calculate *exclusively*, as an *exclusive* calculation makes his next statement, *ἐμονάρχησε δὲ ἔτη δέκα ἡμερῶν ἐξ δέοντα*, support the same date. On the whole, Suetonius seems most likely to be right, even if the text of Dio were absolutely clear : many modern writers, however (e.g. Weynand in Pauly-Wissowa), give the date as 24th June, apparently as a compromise. (The length given for the reign of Titus—who died on 13th September 81—i.e. 2 years 2 months 20 days, Suet. *Tit.* 11 ; Dio 66. 26, certainly fixes the starting-point at 24th or 25th June, but is no evidence at all that Vespasian died on the same day.)

Dio (66. 17), mentions, only to deny, a rumour that Vespasian was poisoned by Titus : he says this was believed by the emperor Hadrian among others. It is rather strange that Suetonius omitted to record this, if it was really a favourite theory at court in his time.

CHAPTER XXV

adsiduas in se coniurationes. The only one known to us is the conspiracy in 79 of A. Caecina Alienus and T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (Dio 66. 16 ; Suet. *Tit.* 6 ; the date is clear because the

conspiracy is recorded by Dio as contemporaneous with the execution of Iulius Sabinus, and that *this* took place in 79 we know from Tac. *Hist.* 4. 67). These two men, one the old Vitellian general, the other the famous orator, were both trusted friends of Vespasian. It was obviously to be a military rebellion, for Caecina was apprehended through the discovery by Titus of a *chirographum eius praeformatae apud milites contionis* (Suet. *loc. cit.*), but our other details deal entirely with the mode of death of the two conspirators.

We may perhaps detect the signs of other *coniurationes* in the *suspectissimus quisque* against whom Titus as *praefectus praetorio* took precautions (Suet. *loc. cit.*).

aut filios sibi successuros aut neminem : i.e. Vespasian's horoscope showed so unmistakably that no one else would succeed him. There does not seem the slightest reason for imagining that this famous remark implies qualified republican sympathies. For Dio's use of it (66. 12) see note on c. 15.

We may note, with regard to the succession, that Vespasian, in spite of his confidence, left nothing to chance. From the very beginning of the reign everything was done to make the accession of Titus, and of Domitian after him, as certain and smooth as possible. Titus became *Caesar* and *princeps iuventutis* (titles reserved for heirs of the imperial house) before the end of 69 ; later, he was his father's colleague in the censorship and in seven eponymous consulships (see on c. 8) ; he received the *tribunicia potestas* from 1st July, 71 (when Vespasian became *trib. pot. III*) ; he was saluted as *imperator* on the occasion of the Jewish triumph in 71 (see on c. 8), and thenceforward his salutations and his father's are concurrent ; &c. It is clear, however, that Titus was not regarded as an equal sharer in his father's imperial powers : this point, though not strictly relevant, may perhaps be briefly considered here.

There is literary evidence to suggest that during Titus' stay in the East, there was friction between the father and the son with regard to Titus' position in the empire (Suet. *Tit.* 5), and we know that Titus allowed coins to be issued in the East giving him the *praenomen Imperatoris*, and accepted the salutation as *imperator* from the troops on the occasion of the fall of Jerusalem, though technically he was only his father's *legatus*. It is this, no doubt, that explains the passage of Philostratus, who says of Titus Ἀναρχηθεὶς δ' αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ καὶ ἀριστείων ἀξιώθεὶς τούτων ἀπῆει μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρὶ (*Apoll.* 6. 30). But on Titus' return to Rome, we see clearly that the *praenomen Imperatoris* was definitely withheld from him, though in one coin-issue of 71 he is apparently described as *designatus Imperator*. His customary official title on the senatorial bronze is *T. Caesar Vespasianus Imp.* (with or without the number of salutations), and on the gold and silver *T. Caesar Imp. Vespasianus* : in either case the title *Imperator* is used as a *cognomen* only. (The use of the *praenomen*

Imperatoris, which occurs on coins and in inscriptions, mostly from the eastern provinces, throughout the reign, is therefore technically incorrect.) Vespasian thus retained the exclusive right to the *praenomen Imperatoris*, as well as to the title *Augustus*, and this proves that Titus' position was definitely subordinate. (See, for a survey of the evidence, Weynand in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 2708 sq. : the coin-issues of Vespasian's reign are described in Mattingly's article 'The Mints of Vespasian' in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1921, p. 187 sq.)

To secure Domitian's position was not of course a matter of such urgency, though since Titus was without male issue, it was presumed and arranged that he would eventually succeed. He also received the titles *Caesar* and *princeps iuventutis* before the end of 69, was consul six times during his father's reign (once *ord.*, five times *suff.*), became a member of all the priestly colleges, &c. His official title during the reign was *Caesar Aug. f. Domitianus*. Vespasian, it seems clear, expected that Titus on his accession would give Domitian the same position as he had held himself under his father, but Titus, for whatever reason, did not, and Domitian never received either the *tribunicia potestas* or the title *Imperator* during his brother's reign. Nevertheless, he was obviously always regarded as his brother's successor.

nec res fefellit. Claudius 13, Nero 14 = 27. Vespasian 10, Titus 2, Domitian 15 = 27.

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